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LEOPOLD II.

EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

London Richard Bentley 1849

ITALY

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,

CONTRASTED WITH

ITS PAST CONDITION.

BY JAMES WHITESIDE, ESQ.,

A.M., M.R.I.A.,

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S COUNSEL.

32877

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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DEDICATION.

My dear Brother,

I dedicate these pages to you, knowing that to few will they prove more acceptable. A portion of the matter contained in them was originally addressed to yourself during my residence in Italy in search of health. I ought to add, I am indebted to you for some kind assistance in looking up the classical references of Canina, in his Book on Ancient Rome,—an agreeable occupation we found it during the autumn of last year, for it reminded us of happy days spent together in our native University.

Your affectionate brother,

JAMES WHITESIDE.

Mountjoy Square, Dublin,
July, 1848.

PREFACE.

I VENTURE with some hesitation to submit these Volumes to the public. So much has been printed of late concerning Italy, that a new book may be regarded as superfluous. But those who travel are apt to consider governments and political systems according to their profession, education, and the past habits of their lives, and thus may treat even the same subject, and observe facts, differently from each other.

Two years were passed by me in Italy, namely, the last year of the reign of Pope Gregory, and the first of Pope Pius—periods of extraordinary interest. Accustomed to active professional exertion, I did not wish, although impaired in health, to spend so long a period of life unprofitably, and therefore, occupied myself in collecting, from time to time, the matter now published.

Some subjects of importance, I remarked, had been passed over lightly by most travellers, namely, the codes of law, the judicial system, agriculture, benevolent institutions, the administration of justice, morals, politics, and history of Italy, while minute descriptions were given of palaces and pictures. Having, in repeated visits to Tuscany, been delighted with its flourishing agriculture and apparent civilization, I conceived that a few chapters might be drawn up useful, if not entertain-

ing, to the reader, illustrative of the past and present condition, history, and institutions of that favoured kingdom. One of these Volumes is almost wholly occupied with Tuscany. In the first chapter I have contrasted the passes into Italy in the hope of affording some assistance to the invalid or tourist, in fixing the order of their route. The incidents of Italian travel have been described with a view also of making a comparison. I have put into a single chapter the experience of several journeys over the Alps, performed at different seasons of the year. The reader will excuse the allusions occasionally made to Ireland, my native country, w ich I dearly love; perhaps they were more applicable when written than at present, but unfortunately they are too applicable still. My remarks being kindly meant, happy should I be, did they produce even the smallest beneficial result.

The chapter on the Fine Arts, is not intended to describe painters or pictures, but to remind the reader of the causes which have at certain periods in their history led a people to excel in these arts— of the principles by which that excellence has been obtained. The mistaken notion, so prevalent, that the Art-Unions of our day will raise art to a pitch of unequalled glory, had some influence in inducing me to draw up this chapter. I have next touched on the habits, condition, and judicial tribunals of the Florentine people.

The chapter on the Agriculture of Tuscany is intended to exhibit the effects produced by a system of tenure, so opposite to our own. The mode by which land is held in these countries, is becoming daily more interesting, and especially in reference to Ireland. For the tables of the division of landed property in Tuscany, I am indebted to Von Raumer. What the

condition of literature was in Florence, and what liberty of printing formerly existed, are briefly detailed.

The chapters relating to Religious Toleration on the Continent, and especially in Tuscany, follow. To enable the reader to comprehend the state of religious knowledge in Italy, I have faithfully translated the greater part of a tract published by authority in Florence, in the truth of which, I was assured, many, including some most distinguished in rank, believed. I have next given a compressed account of the benevolent institutions of Tuscany, taken wholly from the Italian. Some of these institutions humane men desire to introduce into England, to others of them might perhaps be traced much of the crime, immorality, and unhappiness existing in Italian society.

An apology seems due for touching on the subject of Florentine history. The reason I did so was simply this. In common with other travellers, I read with interest Mr. Roscoe's "Biography of Lorenzo d' Medicis." As a piece of literary criticism, it is not only entertaining, but most instructive; but, when compared with other authorities, and indeed with the truth of history, it appeared to me that Mr. Roscoe's view of the political character of Lorenzo the Magnificent was not only mistaken but mischievous. I therefore attempted a brief sketch of the Medici, and of Florentine history: it is not intended as a substitute for serious historical reading, but many who may not have time or inclination for a larger work, may perhaps amuse a leisure hour with a lighter sketch. It was not my wish to encumber these pages with references; I have not therefore done so, although in writing even this sketch I had occasion to refer to a number of authorities. The style may be censured,

but my object was to entertain. The history of the Medici is as interesting "as a fairy tale."

Having traced this extraordinary family from their rise to their extinction, it remained to show the miserable condition in which these patrons of the fine arts left their country. A more agreeable task I found it to describe how Tuscany was raised to its present prosperous condition; that was to be learned in the history of Leopold the Reformer. I do not believe any biography of this great man has been published in the English language: if there be any such, I have never seen it. The history of his life has become scarce even in Italy, and in some countries was proscribed. I have given a sufficiently full, although compressed, account of the life of Leopold, which must be read with astonishment; the narrative is derived wholly from the Italian. It occurred to me, that the history of Leopold contained much that might be useful and instructive, as well to Englishmen as to Italians at the present day. The celebrated code of Tuscany, framed by the great Leopold, its practical operation, and the amount of crime which exists thereunder in Tuscany, seemed fitly to succeed the narrative of the reformer's life. These chapters are succeeded by one on "recent events," which completes the picture I have endeavoured to give of Tuscany.

The Second Volume begins with a comparison of the routes from Florence to Rome, and I have described truly my feelings during an early residence in that celebrated capital. The method I meant to adopt was first to examine topographically Ancient Rome. Having myself made use of the Cavaliere Canina's topographical book for the Ancient City, and finding a general agreement as to its usefulness and

accuracy, I had it translated while in Rome, and have since corrected the references to the classics, added some notes, and expanded others—an humble task, but which delayed the publication of these Volumes. Canina replaces all the chief buildings of Ancient Rome in their appropriate region: his descriptions are not prolix, and are admitted to be generally accurate. I have placed Canina's topography, illustrated by a map, in a separate Volume, for the convenience of travellers; subjoining two chapters on the street architecture of Rome, and the vicissitudes of the City. Occasional references are made to that separate Volume, in my description of Modern Rome.

With respect to the Modern City, I have attempted, in a series of morning walks, to conduct the reader over Rome, inverting the order generally pursued in guide-books, and describing the city in districts, the mode in which ultimately the visitor must examine them.

I have not confined myself to a dry detail of ceremonies, or description of buildings, but have expressed freely what I saw and felt, or what was passing around me.

In describing my visit to the Barberini palace and the celebrated picture by Guido of Beatrice Cenci, I have given a translation of her affecting history. My reason for so doing was, that not only Shelley, in the preface to his tragedy, but all modern writers who have referred to the subject, have asserted that no narrative of the life of Beatrice Cenci was ever published in Italy. This is a mistake: I procured the printed biography, and, I believe, for the first time, the exact history of Beatrice Cenci now appears in an English dress.

I have added a chapter on the incidents of a Roman winter, meant to convey some idea of what Rome was during the last winter of Pope Gregory's reign, and the

Second Volume is concluded by a compressed but accurate translation of the celebrated political essay by Il Marchese Massimo Azeglio, which produced so deep an impression throughout Italy, and of which scarcely any notice has been taken in England. It has all the value of history, and is worthy of preservation. In considering the events now occurring in Italy, it is of the utmost consequence to comprehend accurately the political and social condition of the Papal States, shortly before the accession of Pius IX. This is shewn by what Massimo Azeglio has written. Honorable men (Italians), in Rome, assured me that his statements fell short of the truth. Understanding the amount of injustice and tyfanny which existed in Rome up to the hour of the accession of Pope Pius, we can easily ascribe the effects which have since ensued to their proper cause. Every other government in the Peninsula could have maintained itself; Tuscany was flourishing, and had an excellent system of law; Austrian Italy, stripped of political liberty, was ruled with high administrative ability, and Lombardy was prosperous; Sardinia had a good code of laws, and although the King was disliked, yet his government was conducted with ability; even Naples could have stood, although no doubt in matters of administration far below the States enumerated; but Rome had reached such a pitch of corruption, that to remain in the condition in which Pope Gregory left her was a thing impossible. Hence, to Rome and her government must be traced all the present confusion of the Peninsula, and a knowledge of that deplorable condition, will help to the right comprehension of the character and actions of the present Pope.

The Third Volume is occupied with the route to

Naples; some account of that city and the beautiful environs, in a series of excursions, are described.

The disclosures I have made, relative to the administration of justice, the church, religion, and morals, are given on authority not capable of exaggeration or falsehood.

For the tables of crime, and some other matters, I am indebted to the work on Italy by Professor Mittermaer, of Heidelberg, translated into Italian, and greatly commended for its impartiality. He travelled recently through Italy.

The autumn of 1846 was spent by me in Genoa, during the meeting of the Scientific Congress. I have given some account of the proceedings of what I regarded as a political confederacy, and also of the opinions of the literary men in Italy, including Manzoni, whose writings have produced the greatest effect upon the public mind of the present day. For the poetic translation of Manzoni's odes, I am indebted to the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, rector of Kingswinford, my fellow-traveller through a portion of Italy, and to Dr. Anster, already known by his masterly translation of Faustus.

The winter, 1846-7, was passed in Rome, revolutionized under Pope Pius. I have drawn the character of Pius IX. as I understand it: my view is, that the Pope, when he ascended the throne, did not mean to be a great political reformer, and had not the remotest intention of granting a free constitution to his subjects, but that what he has done has been through *the force of circumstances*. This opinion I have endeavoured to prove, by the facts which have occurred. In his ecclesiastical capacity, I believe Pius IX. to be every inch a Pope.

In touching upon religious matters, I disclaim, utterly, all sectarian or party spirit, still less would I desire to excite the least animosity against my Roman Catholic countrymen, from whom I have all my life received marks of confidence and kindness: when all men are on terms of political equality, a religious discussion ought to be conducted without asperity. They will recollect that a bold attack has been made on the principle of the Reformation, by a learned body of Oxford divines, who, both in England, and in Rome during my residence, assailed the Church of England and the Reformation, and insisted on the superior purity of the Church of Rome. I heard a priest, preaching before Pius and the Sacred College, pronounce an eulogium (deserved, I admit) on these gentlemen of Oxford, for their services to the Church of Rome. It made a deep impression on my mind. I acknowledge the right of all men to think for themselves on the vital subject of religion; the Tractarians of Oxford, or many of them, apostatized openly to the Church of Rome, and no one would deny it was their privilege to do so. Backed by a zealous priesthood, they unsparingly attack the principle of the Reformation, and insist that we Protestants, one and all, should return to the bosom of the Infallible Church. I have not the least objection to their reasoning on this important subject, and, if the matter be submitted to the test of reason, nothing more can be desired. The same right which the priests and men of Oxford have to charge Protestants with schism, Protestants have to examine closely what the Church of Rome is at the present day, and consider whether it be most consistent with Apostolic purity. If it be, I admit that we Protestants are in error, and should retrace our steps. The effect

of my residence in Rome has been, I must frankly admit, to confirm me more strongly than ever in the Protestant faith; and I think if my educated Roman Catholic countrymen would apply to this great question the same reasoning powers which distinguish them in every walk of life, they would discover abundant reason, were it only on the great principle of religious toleration, to justify a resolute dissent from the Papal system.

I have not searched back into musty books of divinity to rake up accusations against Rome, but merely recorded what any resident in Italy may observe—things are not consistent (according to the light of my understanding) with reason or the Scriptures.

I had written these observations when the "Quarterly Review," just published, reached my hands. It contains an ably written article on the 'Revolutions in Italy.' In the strictures passed on the character of Charles Albert of Sardinia, I entirely agree; his conduct has been marked by perfidy. I also agree that the Court of Vienna was right, in asserting that a plan was early formed for the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy. The political paper, translated in the Third Volume, on that subject, was given to me in Rome, a few months after the accession of Pius IX; and that the Austrians would be attacked at the first opportunity, was commonly believed by well-informed persons. That a British minister should not have heard what was generally asserted and believed, seems very strange. That the Roman people should, in common with the inhabitants of Lombardy and Tuscany, desire to expel the Austrians, was natural; they put it on the ground of self-defence. The Roman people say, we know by sad experience that the Austrians are ever ready

to help the Pope with an army, to crush us in our efforts for liberty; and, no doubt, in this assertion they are right. No honest man of the liberal party (Azeglio, for example,) ever denied the liberty, prudence, integrity, and impartiality with which the administration of Lombardy was conducted under Prince Metternich; the aspect of the country and condition of the people shewed this, whilst the comfort and cleanliness of Verona, Milan, Brescia, and Venice, proved the aptitude of the governor for matters of detail, of police and of administration. But Austria abhorred political liberty, and would not yield it, and therefore she has fallen; and if political liberty be a blessing, which no Englishman can dispute, the Italians are justified in struggling to obtain it. The reviewer in the "Quarterly" is severe in his censures on the Italian press; I have not seen the journals for the last few months, but I read "Il Contemporaneo di Roma" for a considerable period after it was established, and it was *then* conducted with ability and moderation; there was, no doubt, at that time, a censorship existing.

The reviewer condemns the creation of national guards, as a rash measure; no doubt under ordinary circumstances, in a well-regulated State, the condemnation would be just; but we, should listen to the inhabitants of Rome or Naples before we unhesitatingly condemn them for desiring the formation of a National Militia. They say we have no confidence in our rulers, who are sustained by regiments of Swiss mercenaries, and backed by the power of Austria; unless we get arms in our hands, we feel we have no security for what we have acquired; and I confess, *for the present*, I think the Italians are right; they best understand their own position.

What the reviewer has remarked of the profession of the law in Italy is true, but my belief is, there are many highly educated and honourable men at the bar in Tuscany, Rome, and Naples; and as to their capacity, the framers of the criminal codes of Sardinia, Tuscany, and even Naples, may bear comparison with the generality of lawyers in England. The scope of this article in the "Quarterly," is to prove the unfitness of the Italian people generally for rational liberty. While I admit there is justice in the observation so far as regards the populace of Naples, I dissent from the opinion, if I have rightly collected it, so far as it relates to the men in business and middle classes generally, throughout Italy. I believe them to be competent to enjoy freedom, and further, that they are resolved to have it.

I cannot agree with the reviewer, that to Pius IX. all the complicated evil existing throughout the Peninsula is owing. I think it is to the mass of corruption and abuse accumulated under the Papal government before the election of Pius IX, that the present confusion must be ascribed. Pope Pius could not help doing what he has done; he could no longer uphold the iniquitous rule of his predecessor, nor sustain the Jesuits; and I confess I do not see what an Englishman and a Protestant has to regret in the downfal of either, or both. My amazement is, how such an absurd system as the Papacy has so long continued, and I have no doubt but for the power of Austria it would, by the indignant sense of the Roman people, have been long since thoroughly reformed. It is perfectly true that the rabble of Naples, popularly called *lazzaroni*, (in which I include the half naked men crowding the harbour, and the mole, and the streets,)

are in favour of their king, and that the middle classes in Naples place no confidence in either,—and in this I think the respectable people are perfectly right. I believe the sovereign of Naples to be a bigot and a tyrant, his past government to have been corrupt, and, I fear, his promises are as little to be relied on as the oath of his father.

The reviewer asserts that the existing population of Naples is less ignorant and ferocious than that of Rome or Milan. I think the generality of travellers are of a contrary opinion; and, if I might venture to give my experience, it would be, that the people of Rome are incomparably superior to the same class in Naples. I was present at many of the crowded processions in honour of Pius, and neither at any of these multitudinous assemblies, nor during the carnival, nor during a residence of many months, could I detect any traces of ferocity, or even ill-humour, in the behaviour of the people. I am disposed to agree with the Count De Tournon, (Napoleon's Préfet in Rome, whose book I have frequently quoted,) that the vices of the Roman people were to be ascribed to their government, and the abominable system of the administration of justice under which they suffered. I cannot believe the possession of liberty calculated to degrade a people, while I heartily subscribe to the remark of the reviewer, "that a national constitution worthy of the name can never be the sudden achievement of a riotous populace—it must be the result of calm reflection." One gloomy anticipation of the reviewer, I trust, may not be verified, viz., that the agreeable intercourse heretofore maintained between the English and the Italians seems drawing to a close.

I trust this is not likely to occur. According to

my experience, the Italians respected the English and admired their virtue, and looked anxiously for their countenance and support; and surely all who have resided in Italy must admit that the courtesy of the people is constant and universal. I never met with a single instance of momentary incivility throughout Italy, nor have I discovered in their popular successes any instances of cruelty or ferocity: they are unlike the sanguinary French, because the Italians have religious faith. All Englishmen, and none, I am confident, more heartily than the able writer in the "Quarterly," will concur in the hope that the Italians may work out a free constitution, and, when obtained, may enjoy the blessing with tranquillity and moderation.

DUBLIN,
July 15, 1848.

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CHAPTER XX.

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ITALY

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

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"Hæc ego mecum
Compressis agito labris: ubi quid datur otî
Illudo chartis."

SOME profess to travel for instruction, some for pleasure, others in pursuit of health. The scholar

prosecutes his inquiries with energy and drinks "of the excellent liquor of knowledge," the profligate runs his career of vice unchecked, the valetudinarian vents his querulous complaints, while the health he seeks, like a phantom, eludes his grasp. Most people, however, remain, in point of mental cultivation, just as they set out, not much improved and little the worse, they run up and down the continent at set times, and like migratory birds fly away by night.

Travel, properly understood, should be "a part of education in the young, of experience in the old."

Sufficiently remembered it is not, what the wisest of men hath taught us, "that he who travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel."

Those who make their summer excursion to the continent, after months spent in severe mental labour, although they learn little permanently useful, yet refresh their bodies and amuse their minds by light and pleasant recreation. They return invigorated to resume the serious pursuits of life, to cultivate its endearing charities, and discharge its important duties. But the numerous class of triflers, who, from a pretended anxiety of economy, nestle in the continental towns, to enjoy their small luxuries abroad, and escape the performance of every social and religious duty at home,—destitute alike of industry, benevolence, real virtue, or spirit, afford to foreigners the worst example of their country, and at the close of their worthless existence drop into obscure, unhonoured graves.

Family travelling is something peculiar. The urgent entreaties of an impatient mother to commence a continental tour for the benefit of her fair daughters, are

reluctantly assented to by the good natured father. The young ladies in the flush of triumph over paternal scruples, set out provided with the "Manual of Conversation," "Childe Harold," and Murray's "Handbook," to explore distant countries, acquire a taste for continental literature, the ease and polish of foreign manners.

Germany affords great advantages in unlearning antiquated prejudices and improving health. In Frankfort the delighted family may be roasted in the month of August, in Wiesbaden taught by example the innocence of gambling, whilst at Baden Baden they can be enlightened on the nature of the fourth commandment, perceiving what an exploded folly reverence for the Sabbath is. In Florence the sprightly girls act the connoisseur in the galleries, flirt amidst the ruins of the Colosseum at Rome, revel in the pleasures of Naples, and, fascinated by the attentions of starving princes, return home discontented for the remainder of their lives. Some people, old fashioned in their humours, may persist in thinking that many English families would enjoy a larger measure of health and happiness by spending a summer within the limits of the British Isles, than in hurrying from one crowded watering-place to another over the continent, enduring all the vexations of steam-boats, railways, staring hotels, and suffocating *table d'hôtes*. The blush of female modesty may be effaced and the unchanging countenance of self-confidence succeed, but whether to the improvement of the woman may be questioned.—The healthy youths from our universities stand in a different position; avoiding the temptations of London, they should pack up their books and hasten on their travels to store their minds with new ideas and refresh their classic

recollections; and, above all, the obstinate dyspeptic, who will not exercise, but will eat and grow apathetic. Active exertion will improve his digestion, the charm of novelty awaken curiosity and stimulate his torpid dispositions. Abstinence will be better than physic; and abstinence the dyspeptic traveller in Italy must often practise whether relished or not. He will gain in health by being forced to rise early, live sparingly, and exercise constantly. The keen air of the Apennines and the Alps will sharpen his wits and his appetite. Therefore let the dyspeptic by all means travel.

Very different, however, and more painful, are the considerations which arise when frequent visits of the doctor establish the certainty of ill-health in the head of a family; when positive advice is given to the patient whom physic cannot cure, recommending rest and change of climate to renovate the mind and repair the waste of the body. In the whole range of his professional practice there cannot be a more delicate matter for the physician to consider, than that which relates to the prudence of advising to such a patient foreign travel and a residence abroad. He has to understand not merely the physical condition but the past habits of that patient's life; his profession, mental qualities, susceptibilities, and temper. To a sanguine temperament the disappointment of eager hopes may be more injurious than bodily fatigue; and, on the other hand, a timely removal from engrossing pursuits and oppressive labour will often save the life otherwise lost. The physician cannot solve this question, so nice and critical, by a mere acquaintance with the art of medicine; his knowledge of human nature and of the human mind must have reached beyond what his phar-

macopeia teaches. "*Sicut medico diligenti, priusquam conetur ægro adhibere medicinam, non solum morbus ejus, cui mederi volet, sed etiam consuetudo valentis, et natura corporis cognoscenda est?*" *

No doubt the doctor is induced sometimes to order a change of climate, as a last resource; if, however, there be on earth a spectacle of human misery utterly deplorable, it is that of consumptive patients, in an advanced stage of their fatal disease, wandering through Italy in search of health. Such I have met: generally unacquainted with the language, the people, the habits of the country,—they endure an accumulation of vexations, increase the suffering they had hoped to mitigate, and hasten the progress of a malady they fondly expected climate would retard or avert.

There can scarcely be a question, that a residence at home, in a favourable situation, with the consolations of home, would be preferable to a cheerless residence in many parts of Florence, Rome, or Naples, unvisited by the rays of the sun, and unprovided with many conveniences so essential to the confirmed invalid. And yet a patient may be sent abroad at such a period of the year as to render it difficult, if not impossible, when, after a harassing journey, he arrives at his destination, to procure a healthful abode, with a sunny aspect and some of the comforts he would require. While, therefore, change of climate may prove most salutary to many, I cannot comprehend the utility of despatching to distant countries patients for whom death and the doctor have long contended. The churchyards in the continental towns might teach, on this subject, a melancholy lesson.

However, suppose the patient has wisely determined

* Cicero, 'De Orator.'

to travel, the next consideration will be where he ought to go; and, to solve that question, he had better read Sir James Clarke's book "On Climate," and perhaps the invalid may find, in the pages of that excellent work, many valuable suggestions, with a view to his permanent recovery, in addition to a knowledge of the place of residence he should select. The perusal of that and the guide books to the south of France, will induce the reader, in all probability, to decide in favour of Italy. Italy having been selected, what has the traveller to expect in his voyage or journey at the period of the year in which it is safe to enter that lovely land. A few practical remarks on this subject may not be altogether without their use.

If a sea voyage be advised, let it be remembered that many of the boats on the Mediterranean, which ply between Marseilles and Naples, are filthy, very old, and not always safe. A discreet English lady, obliged, by ill health, to visit Rome for several years in succession, assured me she suffered such annoyances in some of these boats, that nothing now would induce her to pursue the route by sea. One night, pent up in a berth, my fair friend felt the vermin in such numbers on her face, that she took them off in handfuls, and dropped them, she knew not where; but a lively Frenchwoman underneath, receiving the unwelcome visitors on her cheeks, exclaimed it was raining through the decks. These detestable creatures, if they get into the luggage, teaze the traveller for months afterwards, and certainly, during even three nights in a steamer, the punishment is severe. My friend, Captain S——, with his wife, took berths to Leghorn, on board one of these boats; a storm arose; the windows were washed in, and the cabin deluged; the ladies, conceiving them-

selves lost, applied for higher than human succour. The captain, an old sailor, stuffed the windows with bedding. Providentially the storm abated. When the ship arrived in Leghorn, my friends had no baggage; in their fright the brave Italian sailors flung overboard the luggage, and the captain was left without a shirt. However, he sued the Italian company in Leghorn, to which port the steamer belonged, and a decision was given last May in his favour, by which he recovered half the value of his property.

My esteemed friend and fellow-traveller through a great part of Italy, the Rev. Mr. G——e, was ordered to try change of climate for his health; he took his passage, with his lady, in an English steamer, which sailed from Southampton. When the vessel, into which the passengers removed at Gibraltar, arrived in Leghorn, last October twelvemonths, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the captain, she was put into quarantine, and my good friends detained on board *for a whole week*, with a very muddy prospect.

These are some of the lively adventures which Mediterranean steamers occasionally afford, and which, with delays, disagreeable company, and crowded cabins, make voyaging in them not such perfect felicity as the enthusiastic tourist may expect. This, also, should be recollected, in reference to the management of these Italian boats, the true fare is not that which appears in their bills; one sum is asked, to be extorted from the ignorant and unsuspecting; another and lesser price is accepted from the knowing. The Italians love noisy trafficking, and, to a traveller who has patience or taste for this kind of chaffering, will sometimes abate, especially to a family, forty per cent. on the fare demanded in their bills. Some new steamers have, however,

lately begun to ply on the Mediterranean, which will obviate, partially, the inconveniences I have mentioned. If, however, the traveller, whether robust or invalid, prefers the journey by land, let me exhort him, as he passes through Germany, if health be his object, not dissipation and noise, to shun the notorious watering-places, and, weather permitting, let him nestle in the happy valley of Schlangenbad, a few miles from Bieberick, on the Rhine. Here he will miss the luxury of the gaming-table, but instead, can enjoy bracing air, shady walks, mountain rides, wholesome diet, and a people not yet corrupted, of primitive habits and simple manners. The conversation between the village schoolmaster and my Oxford friend amused me not a little: —"You are a clergyman, I am told." "Yes." "Have you a parish?" "Yes." "May I take the liberty of asking what your income in England is?" "800*l.* a year," was the reply. The schoolmaster stood amazed, and then observed, "How is it possible for one man to spend all that money?" "I have eight sons," answered my friend. "Well, that may help you," said the humble teacher; "still, *I* do not know, even with eight sons, how such a sum of money can be spent; my income is 200 florins a year, and I have enough, and am happy." I asked him about the lawyers in Nassau, he said they were the parasitic plants around the tree of justice. The schoolmaster had shrewd ideas on many subjects, and was pleasant to chat with during an evening's stroll through the shady woods of Schlangenbad.

Often as I have lingered on the Rhine, visited the venerable cities which adorn its banks, and mused o'er the great events of which they have been the theatre, so deeply affecting the religion and liberties

of Europe, from the days of Cæsar to Charlemagne, from Charlemagne to Charles the Fifth, from Charles to Napoleon, it has been with increased delight. The Rhine is the noblest of European rivers; majestica[illegible] it rolls in its lengthened course, fertilizing as it flows, stimulating commerce, urging industry, speeding the traveller on his way, and lavishing blessings on the human race; the great pathway of nations, along whose glad waters may the blessings of peace, civilization, knowledge, and divine truth, for ever flow, instructing, elevating, and reforming the great family of mankind.

But summer and its bright things fade away; and, before chilling winds set in, the invalid must escape to a sunny soil.

By which of the Swiss passes shall he enter the land of hope? — a very important matter to consider, in reference to the season of the year, weather, state of the roads, and condition of the traveller.

The magnificent scenery of the mountain passes of Switzerland attracts the tourist from every country in the civilized world.

The Alpine roads, as examples of scientific engineering, are worthy the highest praise, and at a suitable season of the year there is little difficulty in crossing any of them. But in the month of October, the period at which naturally those who intend to winter in Italy wish to cross the Alps, there are many contingencies to be guarded against. The passes most frequented are the Simplon, Splugen, Mont Cenis, and St. Gothard; and that, in all likelihood, will be chosen, nearest which the traveller finds himself at the close of the summer. If he finishes his tour through Switzerland at Geneva, entering Italy by the Simplon,

and travelling *vetturino* to Milan, an entire week will be consumed; by post the distance may be easily accomplished in four days and a half. Much fatigue can be saved as to the first day's posting by sending the carriage previously round the lake to Villeneuve, and taking the steamer, which, leaving Geneva at the convenient hour of ten o'clock in the morning, reaches Villeneuve by three, thus enabling the traveller to arrive at Martigny before eight o'clock the same evening. The second day will conduct him through the valley of the Rhone, a desolate unwholesome marsh, to Brieg. This is a long and severe journey. The third day the invalid, well muffled, will cross the Simplon through clouds, and probably snow, descending to Domo d'Ossola, where warmth and filth await him. He may there rest some hours extra, making a short stage the fourth day to Baveno, on the Lago Maggiore, whence a delightful drive along the shores of that lovely lake will bring him to Milan. The inn at Martigny is clean, and the beds are excellent, but the hotels at the other places mentioned, although superior to those to be met with in some parts of Italy, are not clean or comfortable; the food, however, is eatable. This pass of the Simplon will be found wearisome; and it is difficult to conceive how an individual, weakened by disease, could endure it. The fatigue, however, is not the only risk. As we descended from Simplon village to Domo d'Ossola a torrent of rain fell. The road is for a considerable distance narrow, running between the banks of a turbid stream (the Doveria,) and sharp precipitous rocks. When the torrent swells, the road is flooded, and frequently in parts swept away. This actually occurred in October, 1845, within two days after we had crossed the pass. A clergyman in delicate health was,

with the other passengers in a public conveyance, deposited on the river side, in the midst of a tempest of rain, at the spot where the road had been carried away by the flood; he had to scramble up the mountain, and walk six miles to a village, where a carriage was procured with difficulty, to forward the passengers to their destination. Accidents of this kind are not uncommon on the Simplon road in the rainy season. A physician would scarcely recommend a consumptive patient to walk for six hours through a shower-bath. Even in favourable weather this is a long and laborious journey. I am therefore surprised the Simplon pass is so much recommended, and think the invalid had better avoid it, especially in the month of October. He may, it is true, have the pleasure at Geneva of witnessing a revolution, and of watching from the windows of the Ecu or Bergue, at opposite sides of the Rhone, what direction the cannon balls take, or he may have a swim for his life in the lake.

During our sojourn at Geneva in September, 1845, one day the steamer did not arrive as usual, and the rumour prevailed that she had gone down with all on board, when the Leman waters were undisturbed by a breath of wind, and the sun shone brightly in the heavens. The fact turned out to be, that, touching at Ouchy for passengers, the steamer unperceived struck her frail bottom against an anchor and sprung a leak. The vessel leaving Ouchy for Lausanne, had not made much way, when fortunately her motion attracted the notice of an English engineer on board. He raised a plank in the cabin, and found the ship was filling rapidly with water; the prow was immediately turned to the shore, and the steamer run aground. The passengers were landed in safety; but, had the mishap

been discovered half an hour later, the consequences might have proved fatal, as there would have been no friendly bay to run into, the deep water reaching to the base of the mountains which edge the lake. There are no boats carried by these summer steamers, and they are generally crowded; and, should any serious damage arise about the centre of the glorious Lake Leman, a passenger would have less chance of his life, surrounded by fresh-water sailors, than if he were in the "Great Western," manned by her gallant crew, and in the wide Atlantic.

Should the tourist for health ramble to Schaffhausen to see the far famed falls of the Rhine, where excellent accommodation is now to be had in the new hotel, "Feyder," he will enter Italy by Zurich, traverse its lake, that of Wallenstadt, and by Coire, and Splugen, and reach Chiavenna, beautifully situated at the foot of the Alps. The traveller will then, for his last day's journey, drive through a flat, unhealthy marsh, to Colico, in two hours, and there, at the head of the unrivalled Lake of Como,* catch the steamer, which will carry him down the entire lake, much too rapidly, to Como, from whence, in a few hours, he will find himself in Milan. The advantages of this route to an invalid, are considerable, the fatigue of protracted posting is lessened by the intervention of three lakes, which are swiftly traversed in steamers: there are some excellent inns, especially at Zurich and Chiavenna, and the whole journey from Schaffhausen to Milan may be pleasantly

* To see thoroughly Lake Como, I recommend the tourist to quit the steamer opposite Bellagio, near the centre of the lake, where he will find an excellent Italian hotel, situated on a peninsula, commanding a prospect scarcely to be exceeded in Europe; he must remain here quietly for three days.

performed within five days. This pass is infinitely preferable for the invalid, and in my judgment, for the mere tourist, to that of the Simplon.

Mont Cenis will be crossed by any misguided traveller who may be induced to struggle through France and by Chamberry over the mountain to Turin. Once I journeyed from Florence to Paris by this pass almost without pausing to rest, and live to record my folly. I have met several, and not inexperienced, travellers who maintain it is easier for the invalid, starting from Geneva, to enter Italy by Mont Cenis, Turin, Genoa, and Florence, than to take the Simplon road to Milan. No doubt Turin is a capital worthy a visit, and having excellent accommodation, equally without doubt is it, that the coast road from Genoa to Florence is romantic and beautiful; but I found, on two occasions, the road between Turin and Genoa in many parts execrable, in rainy weather almost impassable; and this journey, from its length alone, is a formidable undertaking, at best. It may in part be varied, by taking the steamer from Genoa to Leghorn, or Civita Vecchia.

The St. Gothard is of these four passes the most accessible. Basle, in Switzerland, can be reached from Dublin or London by steam. From Basle one day's journey conducts to Lucerne; there, surrounded by the sublimest Alpine scenery, the invalid may, while gently exploring what is within reach, enjoy refreshment and repose. In the last week of September, our patient, already half recovered, leaves Lucerne by the mid-day steamer, and luxuriating in prospects of unequalled grandeur, will step into his carriage at Altorf, in time sufficient to arrive at Amsteg to sleep. There is no fatigue, but, on the contrary, inexpressible delight

in this journey, of but half a day. The next morning, by starting at seven o'clock, the mountain may be crossed, and Airolo reached before six in the evening; and here the traveller finds himself under an almost Italian sky. The accommodation to be met with at the inns between Lucerne and Bellinzona, are certainly not so good as Murray, in his "Hand-book," represents them to be. Inexperienced travellers are alarmed at the surprising contrast between the mountain hotels and the comfortable establishments along the Rhine, and in Switzerland, which they have so lately left. A fastidious Englishman, whom I met in Lucerne, departed for Italy by this pass of St. Gothard: he soon after returned. Being asked why he abandoned his intention of crossing the Alps, he replied, with great feeling, "The stable, sir, at Hospital, was literally in the hotel, everything was filthy, and I was driven back in disgust." Thus ended the attempt of this adventurous gentleman to visit the sunny regions of the south. Nothing dismayed by the lugubrious complaint of this excellent specimen of the John Bull family, we soon after prepared to cross the mountain; and, if the reader will lay aside wholly the feeling of a critic and be indulgent, I will venture upon extracting a summary of this excursion from a black book, called a journal, which, in a moment of weakness, I was tempted to begin, and, from a propensity for scribbling, have never since been able to lay aside. Let Lord Bacon answer for it, he has written:—

"It is a strange thing that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land travel, where so much is to be observed, for most part they omit it, as if chance were fitter to be

registered than observation, let diaries, therefore, be brought into use."

Therefore to my diary.

September, 1846.

Imagine me seated on the deck of the steamer, on Lake Lucerne, enjoying views unsurpassed for sublimity on this earth. There rises Pilatus with his serrated heights, more than 7,000 feet above the level of the sea—and the Righi, in all its grandeur. The lake, now broad, again narrow and contracted, then opening into successive bays, while the lofty mountains varied by patches of verdure, and picturesque *châlets* studding their slopes, run down in steep precipices to the water's edge, and sometimes appear to block up all further passage. The place where, according to tradition, Tell sprang on shore from the boat conveying him to prison, was plainly visible, and I thought of my poetic friend Sheridan Knowles, and his spirit stirring verse, so applicable to the glorious scenery before me. We coasted near the Righi, the ascent of which, to behold the sun rise, is the great achievement of all modern tourists, now peculiarly interesting, as it conducts the traveller to the neighbourhood of that appalling event, the slip of a mountain, commonly known by the name of the Fall of Rosberg, commemorated in prose and verse.

At the base of the Righi lies the village of Gersan, which, with the small strip of cultivated meadow land behind it, formed for four centuries an independent state, the smallest in Europe. The extent of an English parish—a kingdom! This is a match for San Marino, the little republic still existing in Italy, the very mention of which makes one smile. I had lately

read with deep interest the life of Sir James Mackintosh, and especially that part of it in which the biographer (his son) has extracted from the journal of Sir James his reflections upon this portion of Switzerland. That distinguished man observed with the eye of a philosopher, and wrote with the pen of a scholar, sentiments dictated by the heart of a patriot:—

"The combination of what is grandest in nature with whatever is pure and sublime in human conduct affected me in this passage (along the lake) more powerfully than any scene which I had ever beheld. Perhaps neither Greece nor Rome would have had such power over me. They are dead. The present inhabitants are a new race, who regard with little or no feeling the memorials of former ages. This is, perhaps, the only place in our globe where deeds of pure virtue, ancient enough to be venerable, are consecrated by the religion of the people, and continue to command interest and reverence. No local superstition so beautiful, and so moral, anywhere exists. The inhabitants of Thermopylæ or Marathon know no more of these famous spots than that they are so many square feet of earth. England is too extensive a country to make Runnymede an object of national affection. In countries of industry and wealth, the stream of events sweeps away these old remembrances. The solitude of the Alps is a sanctuary destined for the monuments of ancient virtue.

"Grutle and Tell's chapel are as much reverenced by the Alpine peasant as Mecca by a devout Mussulman, and the three ancient cantons met, so late as the year 1715, to renew their allegiance, and their oath of eternal union."

These are just and elegant reflections. It is very painful to discover, in the life of Mackintosh, the unkind treatment he received from his party when in power. This seems to have been acutely felt by his biographer.

But that gentleman should have recollected that Burke himself, whom Erskine venerated, Fox worshipped, and Europe acknowledged to be the master-spirit of the age, was excluded from the council formed to govern the country his wisdom saved. Mackintosh and Burke had only splendid talents, profound learning, large experience, and disinterested patriotism, to recommend them. They had not family or political interest, nor were they qualified to be the hacks of party, and therefore from high office were excluded.

I found myself at Altorf, the very spot where Tell shot the apple from the head of his child, but the town had no charms to detain me, and so on we posted to Amsteg. The sleeping room in this village was a faithful representation of an ensign's quarters in a cheerless barrack. It contained two flock beds, one narrow window, a tiled floor, a small table, three chairs, two flat pie dishes for basins seated on stands consisting of three iron rods run up in a triangular shape. Two round tin cans, with swinging handles, for water. No fire place or carpet. The air was cool; accustomed to the chill of mountain inns and Italian houses, we put on warm clothing and descended to a bleak saloon (they called it) for indifferent fare, and then betimes to bed, but not to sleep, a noisy babbling river effectually prevented that refreshment, so we arose in the morning all the more willingly, swallowed our breakfast, and started up the mountain. How fresh and bracing feels the morning air when one emerges from a confined apartment in an Italian-like hotel, such as was ours of the "Cerf."

We passed some fine scenery, although not deserving all the praises bestowed upon it; but lofty mountains, especially the Alps, a dashing river, a romantic road,

are materials which excite the imagination of the poet, or engage the pencil of the artist. Our river was the Reuss, the same which flows a broad tranquil stream out of Lake Lucerne. I would particularize the ravine of Schellinen as a bold pass, and the Devil's Bridge as the most striking object on the route—the view here approaching to the sublime. The old bridge is standing some seventy feet above the Reuss; barely broad enough for two persons to walk abreast, and without parapet or projection of any kind. To cross it on horseback, as was the custom, must have been a nervous business. The new bridge is convenient and safe, built with extraordinary skill and approached by a road carved out of a precipice running down vertically to the water's edge, from an immense height. Beyond the new bridge falls a grand cascade. The Reuss rushes over the rocks with amazing noise and a great foam; at this spot the scene is magnificent. No other part of the St. Gothard pass justifies the high-flown descriptions given of it. Arrived at Hospital, I found the approach to the hotel sufficiently dirty, but the stable was not quite so close as the gruff English gentleman led me to expect. In two hours and a half we reached the summit of the St. Gothard pass, here, within a circle of ten miles described from the summit, are the sources of the Rhone, the Rhine, the Reuss, and the Ticino, all of which rivers we had seen in the fulness of their strength and beauty. The summit is about 6,800 feet above the level of the sea. The scene around Hospice is desolate enough, but there was the appearance, and there is the reality, of great traffic on this road; at certain seasons huge waggons, with long teams of stout horses continually passing and repassing. Much as I admire mountain scenery, I should not

relish abiding here in the convent so charitably built amidst the snows, although I might have the pleasure of two intellectual monks for my companions.

Having dismissed our leaders, which, like sensible animals, sauntered back without a post boy to their stable, the wheels were locked, and we trotted down rapidly towards the fair land of Italy. It is difficult to feel quite at ease during the descent, the *tourniquets* are so short, the turns so abrupt, the precipice so sharp, and the chasm below so deep, that were the post boy to turn awkwardly, or the horses to start, in all probability it would be your destruction. But the postilion knew his business, and the horses theirs, and we drove briskly to the base of the mountain. We had then a short ascent to make before descending ultimately into the plain which conducts to Airolo. Here we met with a comical adventure. The horses suddenly became uneasy, cocked their ears, then laid them down flat, and shewed evident symptoms of terror. Looking out for the cause, I beheld just before us a huge camel, attended by a bear and a couple of monkeys, one of which was composedly seated on the bear's back. Whether it was the sight or smell of these animals which offended the sagacious horses I know not, but they shewed unequivocally how much they disrelished such ugly intruders on their native domains. The carriage was stopped, we got a refreshing walk, and resumed our seats when the horses shewed by the behaviour of their ears they meant to be civil.

Arrived at Airolo, we found "the Post" a cheerless concern, but there was no alternative, and so we selected our barrack room for the night. Next morning we enjoyed a pleasant drive to Bellinzona.

The "Angelo" was our hotel, the balcony of which

rests on the old city walls, from whence we had a delightful view of the mountains and surrounding country. The air was soft and balmy, and the change of air and scene from Switzerland complete. The whole of this canton, although under the Swiss government, is Italian in language, manners, feeling, religion, and almost in climate. From Bellinzona we had an agreeable excursion to Locarno, on the shores of the celebrated Lago Maggiore. The day was delicious, so we proceeded no farther, preferring to enjoy views of the unrivalled lake, the mountains from which we had emerged, and of those by which we were surrounded. Rowing out to the centre of the lake, we felt the luxury of the climate, and the soft beauty of the scene. The water was unruffled by a breeze, and all nature was still; the sun of Italy illuminated every object with its golden light. Surely such an Italian landscape as this, should be well calculated to stimulate the fancy of the artist, or inspire the imagination of the poet. The town of Locarno lies picturesquely at the base of a wooded ascent, which is studded with *campaniles*, convents, and stations, to make easy the road to heaven. Having enjoyed the *agrémens* of an Italian dinner, in the evening we undertook a fagging walk to the Madonna del Sasso, a place of sacred pilgrimage on the heights, containing separate stations, adorned with images descriptive of sacred history, the holy handkerchief, the miraculous appearance of the Virgin to St. Francis, and other religious wonders. On the summit we were rewarded with a rich and varied prospect. Having seen the sun set, we were obliged next morning to see it rise, in order to reach the steamer before six o'clock. The contrast between the light cheerful scenery of Lago Maggiore and the stern gloomy grandeur of Lake Lucerne, which

we had left, was very remarkable. The finest view is afforded by the bay of Baveno: here we saw the distant Alps covered with snow, while a summer sun shone above and gilded by his rays every object around us.

At Arona, to my inexpressible vexation, the Sardinian officers would not suffer me to land *en route* to Genoa, nor would the police *visé* my passport; so, not having the signature of a Sardinian minister, which could not be procured at Lucerne, I was forced to proceed to Milan to obtain it.

Thus, it will be observed, the St. Gothard pass (like that of the Splugen) enables the tourist to shorten his carriage travelling materially, by means of Lake Lucerne and Lago Maggiore, and, in my judgment, for the invalid, who may wish to combine ease and speed with views of the grand mountain scenery of Switzerland, this Alpine pass presents advantages superior to all others.

The common route from Milan to Florence is by Bologna and across the Apennines. It will ever be chosen by the man of taste on his entrance into Italy, because it enables him to examine, in the ancient city of Bologna, the famous gallery of pictures by the Caracci and their immortal scholars. Six times have I crossed the Apennines, a range of mountains very uninteresting in comparison with the Alps; yet Addison thought the road through the Apennines picturesque, and has given a classical and poetical description of it. One night is generally spent on the way to Florence. If they can, invalids should avoid sleeping at Pietra Mala, for it is bitterly cold and cheerless; I have spent the night a few miles further on, at Covigliajo, a lonely house, without meeting any of those stirring adventures which in this quarter, some forty years ago, were not un-

common. However, nothing can be more gratifying to a writer than to inspire his readers with a pleasing horror; travellers' stories are for such a purpose excellent; travellers' *facts* will answer as well. Therefore, in winter nights, when my fair readers are seated before a cheerful fire, surrounded by smiling faces, enjoying the happiness of home, let them read this narrative of horror.

"One inexplicable gang of ruffians had long been felt, but could not be followed, on the road between Bologna and Florence. Travellers daily disappeared, and could never be traced by their spoils. Two Pisans of my acquaintance,* passing through Pietra Mala, put up at a solitary inn on the Apennines, and asked for beds. The landlady told them that she must send two miles off to borrow sheets of the curate. A desolate house and a wretched supper, set in opposition with diamond rings on the coarse fingers of their hostess, alarmed her guests, who had heard of the invisible murders committed on this road. They communicated their suspicions to the vetturino, and, having concerted their plan, they desired him, in the landlady's hearing, to call them up at five in the morning, and retired to bed. There they kept a fearful watch until all were asleep, when, stealing from their beds, they set off before midnight, and thus escaped alive from those dreadful confines. Not long afterwards, a member of the gang being taken, made a discovery of the rest. All the banditti were surprised while feasting at the parsonage, and their horrible mystery was at length revealed. It was the law of their society to murder all the passengers they stopped, to kill and bury the horses, burn the carriages and baggage, reserving only the money, jewels, and watches. Biondi, the curate, was their captain; the mistress of the

* Mr. Dodsworth and Signora Patriarchi.

inn their accomplice, and, in the manner just mentioned, she sent him notice of every traveller that lodged at her house."

Very different is the state of Italy now, from what it was when Forsythe narrated the above fearful story. There is, however, a pass over the Alps, the least admired, but which I especially liked, perhaps because little was expected, and returning health enabled me to enjoy what proved a pleasure excursion, with the keenest relish. I mean the pass of the Brenner. The tourist who strolls from the Rhine to Munich, and there refreshes himself for a week, beholding, with surprise, what the sound taste of a second-rate sovereign has effected for architecture and the fine arts, may reverse the order of my route, and easily and profitably enter Italy by Verona.

A kind and excellent physician, practising in Naples, Dr. S——, recommended strongly this pass of the Brenner, as the most suitable for an invalid crossing the Alps at any season before June. The reader will allow me to revert to the black book which tells what I think of this route from Florence to Munich, and what I found it.*

Latter end of May, 1846.—With regret we saw the day of our departure approach. But the thermometer stood at ninety degrees, with the certainty of its increasing, and the last day I was in Florence, I felt as if walking in an oven moderately heated. For a con-

* I quitted, ultimately, Italy by sea, returning by the south of France. The narrative of this route by the Brenner pass is given here, in order that the reader may have before him, in one chapter, such account as I meant to give of the principal passes into Italy. He may thus contrast and compare their advantages and inconveniences.

tinuance, this must be injurious and relaxing to the constitution. I resolved, on this occasion, to make the journey to Bologna in one day. At six in the morning, we were seated in the carriage, and, ascending slowly the hill leading to the Pratolino palace, cast many a longing look behind on lovely Florence. As we passed the villa of Madame Catalani the heat was excessive; a few miles further up the mountain it became cool, then damp, and at last, to my surprise, we had the luxury of rain.

Soon after passing Covigliajo we met with an accident. Descending a hill, one of the horses fell: the poor creature was severely cut and bruised. One of the Italian postilions having extricated the horse, began to prepare the harness for the purpose of tackling the bleeding animal to the carriage, the ruffian blaspheming all the while most horribly. When I understood what he meant to do, enraged by his cruelty, I shouted to him to desist; and, after a violent clamour of words, forced him to disengage the horse, and lead him to the village half a mile distant. This delayed us a little time. When we arrived at the village, to my astonishment I found the miserable animal had been washed, his knees covered with some black stuff to hide the blood marks, and the same process applied to his side,—the harness on him as if ready for immediate use. I waited quietly to see what the Italians meant to do. They very coolly got up the bruised horse to the carriage to be yoked, when I opened on the party, charged them with cruelty (this they laughed at) and imposition on me, insisting on the fulfilment of my written contract, which stipulated I should have four strong horses every stage of the journey. The postilion who spoke was a little fellow, so I bullied him; he first offered to proceed

with the lame horse, then he proposed to go on with three horses, as he declared three could travel as quickly as four. Finding I was immovable, the fellow, to my infinite satisfaction, ordered out two fresh horses, which being added to the three made five, and so the Italian fulfilled his bargain to give me four horses, and we set off at a rattling pace upon our journey. There cannot be found a more striking contrast of national character than that exhibited by the Italian postilion and the German *vetturino*. The Italian is reckless, clamorous, and cruel; the German cautious, silent, and humane: he seldom strikes his horses, and certainly there is a good deal of the German in the horse, and of the horse in the German. The German eats brown bread, so does the horse; the German drinks beer, so does the horse: nay, I have seen the phlegmatic *vetturino* take from his pockets lumps of sugar, and give them to his fat, contented, docile animals. The chief difference between the German and his horse, being that the horse does not smoke, while the German does, I believe even in his sleep.

The Italian dashes down the hill without appearing to care for the fate of his horses or himself. The German, when he arrives at such an elevation as Westminster Bridge, cautiously pulls up, fixes his drag, and slowly creeps to the bottom, in safety certainly; and he repeats this operation with amusing perseverance at every hillock on the road. To remonstrate with him would be mere waste of breath. When a hot tempered man requires to be taught patience and forbearance, let him travel five days with a German *vetturino*, who will conduct him prudently and safely thirty miles a day during that happy period.

The Apennines resemble in many places large ugly

sand hills, studded with tufts of grass. There are, however, green and beautiful spots amongst them; but it is tiresome beyond measure to spend a whole day, running up one little hill after another, never ascending a great height, nor descending into any deep valley, nor traversing a romantic or gloomy pass.—Having lost some time upon the road, we were late in approaching Bologna, but the moon shone upon us in mild splendour, and the evening air was delicious. We had left the chill of the mountain behind us; and although fatigued, were soothed during the last stages of our journey by the softness of an Italian night, so unlike the piercing climate of our northern spring. Never shall I forget the sensation with which I beheld a kind of illumination in the meadows covering a hill, at the base of which our road lay. This was caused by thousands of fire flies, shining through the grass. Now all was dark; in a second the earth was lighted by countless brilliant little lamps, held up as it were in friendship to man to cheer him on his way, by myriads of bright creatures glittering through the night, in emulation of the permanent stars which illuminated the heavens by their gentle lustre. What do the famous cities of the world contain comparable with the glorious creations of nature! How wholesome the change from the crowded city to the wide plain, the wooded valley, the lofty mountain, the rapid river, above us the azure sky—in itself elevating the soul, while attracting the eye by its innumerable beauties and wonders! During the latter part of this day's excursion all fatigue was forgotten.

Quitting Bologna next morning, driving through a richly cultivated level country, we reached Modena, which is a well built town, with fair shops to behold, governed by an absolute master, called Duke, the

existing tyrant being, it is said, somewhat a better man than his father was.

The road was smooth and excellent, and lay through a country richly clothed with vines, and covered with corn fields, and mulberry trees, and green crops reaching to the very edge of the road—for miles it seemed as if the traveller journeyed through one vast farm—there were no fences, no ugly ditches, no low walls and straggling bushes; a great quantity of ground is thus saved. The whole country appears as though it belonged to one proprietor—the mulberry, the vine, wheat, Indian corn, and rice are the chief productions—not much oats, and the potato is very scantily cultivated in Lombardy or throughout Italy. The trees not only line the roads, but run down the centre of the fields, and the vine hangs from branch to branch, decorating and adorning in wreaths the vast plain, as if for a festival. The eye is wearied with the sameness of the view, rich although it be. The journey through the Duchy of Modena gives one a good idea of the great plain of Lombardy, and its skilful cultivation, famous for centuries. The houses of the farmers appeared substantial, the dress of the people decent, and the beggars were not numerous nor clamorous. We slept in the evening at Novi, a small village near the frontier; the hotel was of a very primitive kind, the people very civil, but evidently surprised by our visit. The ensuing morning we were soon at the boundary of Modena. I have read a miserable description of the government of this beautiful duchy by the late ruler, yet in appearance the country is prosperous and rich; however, the excellence of the cultivation is no proof that the laborious cultivators are well remunerated for their toil, the reverse is constantly the case; and as it appears from a note in Mr. Spalding's

book that the revenue of the duchy was, in 1814, but 23,000*l.* per annum, and in 1831, by heavy taxation, had been swelled to 92,000*l.* per annum, there is good evidence of extortion and plunder. The Modenese have not even the shadow of liberty; the army is small, but of course the system of despotism is under the protection of the paternal tyranny of Austria. There are 27,000 inhabitants in the town, and 400,000 in the duchy. The revenues of the clergy cannot be got at, and may fairly be assumed to be great.

The University of Modena was suppressed in 1831, in consequence of the part taken by its spirited students in the insurrection of that time. Bigotry and despotism *have at present* a fast hold of this fertile part of the Peninsula.

The demand for passports, and the yellow striped ensign of Austria apprized us that we had entered a part of Italy under its firm sway. The Austrian *douaniers* treated us with courtesy at the town of La Moglia di Gonzaga; for, although it was the fair day, by the help of a reasonable bribe and a declaration on honour that we had nothing contraband, we were quickly dismissed.

In Mantua we rested. This was the birth-place of Virgil, I had stood over his grave near Naples, and copied from the inscription on his tomb "Mantua me genuit." Delightful poet! his name recalls the happy days of youth. Unconsciously I repeated,—

"Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,"

while musing on the beauties of the Æneid, and the incomparable poetry of the Georgics. Virgil described pastoral life amidst the luxuriance of Nature, some of the loveliest scenes of his native country are immortalized in the Æneid: he, as has been well

observed, having effected for Italy what Scott in our day accomplished for Scotland. The Georgics were undertaken, it is said, at the desire of Augustus, to make agriculture fashionable, it having been by the Roman people generally and fearfully neglected. Virgil retired from Rome to the neighbourhood of Naples, where, in seven years, he composed the Georgics, the most finished work of art ever written. The great poet died in Brundusium at the age of fifty two. But Mantua is memorable as the scene of a very different event in modern history: an event which I cannot dwell on without a thrill of horror,—the murder of Hofer; eternal infamy will rest on the French name for that unparalleled atrocity.

"Hofer, a Tyrolese peasant, had heroically led on his countrymen against the French, when they wickedly invaded his native land. Unexampled courage and exalted patriotism inspired the Tyrolese, and they repeatedly expelled the infidel invaders of France. In supreme power Hofer was mild, just, humble, and pious. The Tyrol was at last overpowered and overrun by the numerous armies of France, and Hofer hunted by his remorseless persecutors. The price of blood was liberally given by the French, and Hofer was betrayed and shot in this town of Mantua. It is recorded that, although he had no suspicion his life was forfeited, he listened to his sentence with unshaken fortitude, and only required the presence of a priest. During the night he occupied whatever time was not employed in devotional exercises in speaking of the war, and he expressed a firm persuasion that the Tyrol would, sooner or later, revert to the dominion of Austria, little suspecting that the accomplishment of this prediction would not dispense with the services of the patriot on behalf of his country. Early on the following morning Hofer was led from prison to the

bastion near the Porta Ceresa; on his way thither those of his countrymen who were at liberty, threw themselves on the ground begging his blessing and weeping bitterly; while he, in bestowing it, asked the forgiveness of all who had been led into misfortune by his example. He also delivered to the priest who accompanied him, all that he possessed, with an injunction to divide it among the unfortunate of his countrymen, 'My wife and family (said he) I leave to the emperor.' The offering which he delivered to the priest, consisted of five hundred florins, a silver snuff box, and two rosaries. He was placed on the bastion in front of the soldiers, the innocent instruments of murder. He was desired to kneel; but he refused, saying, 'I am used to stand upright before my Creator, and in that position I will deliver up my spirit to him.' And when asked to allow his eyes to be bound, he said, 'No! I have been accustomed to look into the mouths of cannon.' To the corporal he gave a twenty kreutzer piece, cautioning him to perform his duty well; and then retiring a few paces, he pronounced the word 'fire' with a firm voice. This was not an occasion when brave men, as his executioners might be, handle their arms with steadiness; it is said that all fired ineffectually; at length, a steadier hand proved friendly, and Hofer fell in the forty first year of his age."*

Thus perished a man in whose bosom beat a heart as large and noble as ever swelled within the breast of the proudest hero of antiquity. Loyal to his sovereign, humble, pious, courageous, and sincere, he as naturally attracted the hatred and persecution of France by the exhibition of these virtues, as he did by his patriotic life and glorious death the sympathy of all good men throughout the world. In justice to the Emperor of Austria it should be added that he enno-

* Inglis's Tour in the Tyrol.

bled the family of Hofer, and granted them a pension of 72,000 florins. The emperor also offered to Hofer's widow an asylum in Austria: she preferred spending the remainder of her days in her native valley in the Tyrol.

In the evening of the 6th of June we arrived in Verona, not having encountered a single English traveller. We walked and drove round and through the fair town of Verona, visited with interest, although for the second time, its remarkable churches, in some of which are good frescoes, and in all fine paintings, marbles, and statues. How full, to overflowing, are even the second rate cities in Italy of the most beautiful productions of art! The remains of Roman or Imperial times in this famous city are considerable, but the chiefest and grandest is the Amphitheatre, which is in a state so perfect, that games are now celebrated in its arena. The exterior coating of this vast building is gone, outwardly it presents the aspect of a very noble ruin, but, on entering, the interior is found almost perfect, the seats, capable of containing 22,000 persons, entire, and the general plan of the structure obvious and unbroken. We ascended to the very top and walked round the whole circus on its highest seat. What a commanding view it afforded of the whole surrounding country! With regret I quitted this little Coliseum, supposed to have been built in the time of Trajan. We visited frequently the striking groups of Gothic tombs belonging to the Scala family; they are placed in what is now a narrow street, and before an old church. The Scala family held the sovereignty of Verona in the middle ages, and certainly these elegant monuments afford lasting proofs of their good taste. The workmanship is no less curious than enduring.

Verona possesses ecclesiastical buildings from the early ages of Christianity to this our day; the existing fortifications constructed by Austria are said to be unsurpassed, and thus the ancient Roman Empire, the middle ages, and modern times, are here together represented. Poetry has likewise its imperishable associations; no man of feeling will leave unvisited what is asserted to be the tomb of Juliet;—why need we doubt its genuineness? The dull cold stone awakens those deep emotions which must be kindled, when memory recals the most beautiful of the creations of Shakspeare's genius. The poet has selected Verona as the scene of two bright productions, as he has chosen Venice for the scene of two other of his grandest dramas. Whatever may have been the amount of Shakspeare's classical knowledge, he must have been well acquainted with the tales of Italian literature. How felicitous the remarks of Corinne on the play of Romeo and Juliet.

" C'est un sujet Italien que Roméo et Juliette; la scène se passe à Vérone; on y montre encore le tombeau de ces deux amants; Shakspeare a écrit cette pièce avec cette imagination du Midi, tout à la fois si passionnée et si riante, cette imagination qui triomphe dans le bonheur; et passe si facilement néanmoins, de ce bonheur au désespoir, et du désespoir à la mort. Tout y est rapide dans les impressions, et l'on sent cependant que ces impressions rapides seront ineffaçables. C'est la force de la nature, et non la frivolité du cœur, qui, sous un climat énergique, hâte le développement des passions. Le sol n'est point léger, quoique la végétation soit prompte; et Shakspeare, mieux qu'aucun écrivain étranger, a saisi le caractère national de l'Italie, et cette fécondité d'esprit qui invente mille manières pour varier l'expression des mêmes sentiments, cette éloquence Orientale qui se sert des images de

toute la nature, pour peindre ce qui se passe dans le cœur. Ce n'est pas, comme dans l'Ossian, une même teinte, un même son, qui répond constamment à la corde la plus sensible de cœur; mais les couleurs multipliées que Shakspeare emploie dans Roméo et Juliette ne donnent point à son style une froide affectation; c'est le rayon divisé, réfléchi, varié, qui produit ces couleurs, et l'on y sent toujours la lumière et le feu dont elles biennent. Il y a dans cette composition une sève de vie, un éclat d'expression qui caractérise et le pays et les habitants. La pièce de Roméo et Juliette, traduite en Italien, semblait rentrer dans sa langue maternelle."

Verona, I may mention, is the third city in importance belonging to the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom of Austria; it is delightfully situated at the foot of an acclivity, with mountains in view, the broad river Adige entering its walls and flowing through the centre of the city. On the morning of the 8th of June we left Verona; the day was intensely hot, and the dust suffocating, it was impossible to read or reflect, or even to admire the country. At intervals, however, we caught a breath of air, as our road lay by the margin of the Adige. We journeyed along the banks of this fine river for nearly seventy miles. The country gradually became more open and shewed less of an Italian character, although we had still the grape. How glad we were to reach Roveredo. We now had a cooler atmosphere, and so got on more pleasantly; heartily fatigued we arrived the same evening in Trent. I was interested by the remarks of an Italian who chatted with me in this place; he said the government of a hundred millions of people in the East Indies by England was a moral miracle. He seemed to have a great respect for our political system. I said, *he* had a delightful climate; he replied, with a sigh, there was

more required for man's happiness than a good climate. I observed in reference to the country, Tyrol, whither we were going, that I understood the people had a house of representatives, in which even the order of peasants were represented. He replied there was a form of representation, but nothing was to be proposed or done except what the Emperor or Metternich *pleased, and assured me it was all a farce*, and that the Tyrolese had been cheated wholly of their political freedom.

TRENT.—This quiet town of the Tyrol has gained a lasting reputation through Europe from the memorable Council of the Infallible Church held within its walls.

The guide books describe Trent as the most important and prosperous city in Tyrol, beautifully situated on the left bank of the Adige. Its numerous towers and spires surmounted by the stately dome, its marble palaces and ruined castles, all included within a circle of embattled walls, have, from a distance, a very imposing effect. It was the *Tridentium* of the Romans, and has 13,000 inhabitants.

I hastened to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, being the building within whose walls the Council of Trent assembled. It has nothing in its external appearance impressive, and I was, on entering, surprised at its comparatively small size, for I had expected something vast.

The great object of curiosity is the picture of the Council as it sat; which is placed behind the altar at the upper end of the church. The sacristan explained the curious painting; he shewed us, seated in their robes seven cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, seven abbots, seven heads of orders, two hundred and thirty-five bishops, and a hundred and

forty-six professors of theology. The heads are all distinct, and the figures of many are given in full. We gazed for some time on this singular representation of that celebrated assembly of churchmen. There were ambassadors present from the principal countries in Europe, and they also are delineated. Vain was their labour, if designed to repress the human mind from thinking on the greatest subject which can engross or engage its faculties.

The historic picture interested us very much: it told a long story in a few words. There was a Latin inscription at the other extremity of the church, announcing the fact of the famous council having been held within its walls, exhorting the reader to prostrate himself in thankfulness to God for such a spiritual revelation to His church, and reminding him that of all the councils (enumerating them) of the church, none was greater than that of Trent. Wholly unmoved by this modest inscription I quitted the cathedral to roam about the old town.

The rearing of the silk-worm gives employment to great numbers of people in and around Trent; and, indeed, the gathering of the mulberry leaves, the food of the silk-worm, along the route from Bologna, resembled a harvest.

In Krone we found German spoken, and now learn we have indeed quitted the beautiful land of Italy; it is curious to observe the Italians rather increase and advance on the German race; they are more temperate, are very industrious and better suited to the climate.

From Botzen we enjoyed the view of a cheerful country, pleasingly diversified with wood, hill, and water. Our river between Botzen and Brixen was the Eisack, and the road traversed a narrow defile closed

in by cliffs of porphyry, and called Kuntersweg. What I chiefly admired in this country was the neat aspect of the farms, the clean cultivation of the land, and the happy appearance of the industrious inhabitants. The change of climate was very perceptible; the cool mountain air, after the intense heat of Florence, although agreeable, was somewhat hazardous. At Stertzing, in the Tyrol, we had a proof of this; after we had settled ourselves in the cheerless hotel, a young lady of the party who, during our long travels, had enjoyed the most enviable health, to our surprise grew suddenly faintish, then weak and cold. She was put into bed, restoratives and warm applications were administered, and as she did not think fit quickly to recover, a doctor was sent for. Three women in the house, with candles in their hands, stood gazing on the fair patient. The village doctor came, and by degrees our young friend recovered, the physician ascribed the fainting to the effects of a sudden change of climate. This delicate affair being over, it became necessary to fee the doctor, and thereupon inquiry was made from the lady of the house what should be the fee, she said a swanziger and a half was the usual remuneration, but that two would be handsome payment; as I wished to be liberal, the successor of Galen was paid two swanzigers, about 1*s.* 4*d.* of our money, with which, mightily pleased, he departed!

Having passed rather an uncomfortable night, I wished to quit Stertzing the ensuing morning in the most expeditious manner, but I found it impossible to effect my purpose, as every man in the town was engaged in the religious procession in honour of the day called Corpus Christi. Having no alternative, we secured a window commanding a good view, and awaited

the unexpected spectacle. We saw the whole population of Stertzing in their holiday attire, besides a large influx of people from the country. There was a great variety of costume, but it was not of a very picturesque character. An impartial spectator would have been disposed to say, what a very decent people these are, how clean, orderly, respectable, and apparently devout. There were many flags and banners of a large size, having representations painted or worked on them of a religious nature; and also of the miracles wrought by the saints of the Romish Church; there were also effigies of saints and martyrs, and several, big and little, of the Virgin, not very prepossessing; and, lastly, there was something like a coffin and an image of our Saviour. The image was borne under a splendid canopy. A long train of young girls, all dressed in white, followed the host. Having paraded through the town, the whole procession halted in the widest part of the principal street, and a religious service was chaunted, in the course of which the responses of the evidently pious, simple people were, as every serious exercise of religion is, most impressive. Having concluded their worship under the canopy of heaven, the people with tranquillity and gravity dispersed, and I was then enabled to make arrangements for my departure. Until the religious service was over it was impossible to find any man with whom to transact business; *all* the inhabitants joined in the exercise of devotion, and then returned to the discharge of the ordinary duties of life. The scene I have described gave me a favourable impression of the Tyrol and its population.

The Brenner.—This pass affords one of the lowest carriage roads over the Alps, and is said to be the least interesting in scenery; it is one of the oldest

passes, and it is supposed to have been that taken by Drusus* in the expedition commemorated by Horace. Its highest elevation is 4700 feet above the level of the sea. That of the Stelvio is 9272, and above 800 above the line of perpetual snow. We reached the utmost point of the pass without knowing it, so easy is the ascent. Our road was close to the Eisack, which runs into the Adige at Botzen. We dined at Steinack, a good village; there had been here also a religious procession, and the Tyrolese young men were feasting in numbers in the village hotel as we entered; we passed through their apartment; flasks of wine and cakes were before them, and they were singing lustily their national airs. We were shut up in a room adjoining, and the Tyrolese, thinking we were left fasting too long, sent an ambassador to present us with a flask of their wine and a supply of their cakes; the gift was cordially accepted, coming, as it did, from as frank, manly, and fine a set of young fellows as ever I beheld. Our road for the last stage from Schonberg to Innspruck was beautiful. The views most exhilarating,—smiling villages, peaceful cottages, cultivated plains, rich meadows, wooded hills, a rapid river, and, in the distance, mountains capped with snow. But the spectacle which warmed my heart was that of the people, looking comfortable, happy, industrious, and cheerful; ever, ever

* Vidêre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem et Vindelici, &c.
HOR. *Od.* iv. 4, 17.

Milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Brennosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecitaeer plus vice simplici.
Ibid. Ode, 14, 10.

Ireland and her impoverished inhabitants of the south and west recurred to my memory, and I prayed sincerely I might live to see them equally supplied with the necessaries and comforts of life as the Tyrolese.

What gave an additional interest to the scene was, that we knew we traversed a country famous for the noble resistance of its brave possessors against the armies of France and Bavaria, when revolution, plunder, and massacre were the business of the French nation. We passed the spots where the hardy mountaineers destroyed their invaders, and in some of the sites judiciously chosen by them for their assault on the French, the Austrian government is now erecting formidable fortifications.

The descent into the vale in which Innspruck stands, in a situation of unparalleled beauty, I can never forget. My exclamation was, that Europe could have nothing superior for the eye of man to dwell on.

We spent here a happy week, delighted by the contemplation of a clean, courteous, comfortable, joyous people, living in a country they love, a country blest by nature with so many advantages. There cannot be a greater contrast witnessed than that which the humble classes of the Italians and Tyrolese present; you may read that contrast in the eyes, looks, and habits of the two nations. Can the reason of that painful difference consist in this, that the Tyrolese have ever held their country, have not had their courage crushed, or their spirit destroyed by debasing slavery, and therefore have not imbibed the vices which as yet belong unhappily to Italian servitude. Their heroic conflict with the French proves what their degree of courage was, and more, that they had a country worth fighting for. The Tyrolese are not a numerous, but an united people,

therefore strong and respectable; they possess the whole of their romantic country, and although they have not the political freedom they deserve, their bold bearing tells you their spirit is free, and that their rulers dare not wantonly insult or oppress them. But I wander from my theme.

The view of the lofty mountains surrounding Innspruck as you walk the streets is glorious, covered, as they are, with snow. The bright sun shines on the valley, while the air is cooled by a refreshing breeze from the snowy heights. Then there is a broad, rapid river, the Inn, rushing through the centre of the town, crossed by a wooden bridge, the banks shaded by acacias and fine old trees, under whose friendly branches there is a pleasant promenade.

The plain around Innspruck is so perfectly cultivated as to gladden the eye whenever it rests upon so fair a scene; not one inch of ground is waste, and the industry of the people is incessant. I visited twice the shooting ground, romantically situated about a mile from the town. The Tyrolese soldiers and people may here be seen exercising at a mark, and certainly the accuracy of their aim is fearful, as the French often found to their cost. The mechanical invention of the target greatly amused me: whenever the small centre mark was struck by the ball at a considerable distance, two figures slowly moved round and faced you, they having been previously fastened behind the target; then a man, standing near the mark in a suitable and safe position, came forth dressed like a merry Andrew, tumbled and made antics before the target, and announced in a loud voice that the ball had hit; this was registered by a Tyrolese soldier, who sat at a table with writing materials and a book, near the persons who

fired, and whose duty it was to register the successful shots according as the keeper of the target cried out. The scene was novel and entertaining. I visited several churches in the town and neighbourhood; one, the Franciscan, which contains the curious and splendid monument of the Emperor Maximilian I.; also the grave and statue of Hofer, which particularly interested me. The fabrics are clean and spacious, unlike the churches of Italy in their arrangement, in this respect, that rows of seats are placed for the congregation in the aisle. The people in the churches were evidently sincere, devout, and constant in their pious exercises. In no place does the Roman Catholic religion appear to greater advantage than in the Tyrol. There is a peculiar quietness, a decorum, and a devoutness in the congregations.

In religion the Tyrolese are not superstitious, although sincere, many of the practices of the Italian church are repudiated by them. There is one prison for the kingdom containing 800,000 inhabitants: this is at Innspruck, and seldom has eighty criminals within its walls. There is not a foundling hospital in the whole of the Tyrol, and if there were one it would present a ward of empty cradles.

Delighted with our sojourn in Innspruck we were compelled to leave sooner than we could have desired, in order to meet kind friends at Munich. We chose the road by Jegernsee and the baths of Kreuth, although the longest, because the most romantic, and certainly had no cause to repent our choice. Where cultivation is possible the country is in the richest cultivation, and when the industry of man was wanting, we had wood and mountain and water to enliven the prospect. The charm of the road consists chiefly in

the lake scenery. You first drive along the borders of the Lake Jegernsee, surrounded by hills and pleasant woods, and having at its southern extremity grand Alpine scenery. You rest at the Baths of Kreuth, the fashionable watering place of the gay folks of Munich, and then traverse the Lake Acenthal by a curious, singular road, sometimes running at the edge of the water, and at other times cut like a shelf out of the precipice which hems in one side of this sunny lake, and in parts so narrow that two carriages could not pass. There is little superior to this route in Switzerland,—we could not remain in the carriage,—the fresh air, the novelty of the scene, and magnificence of the views, enabled us to walk with ease a distance which in Italy would have been impossible. The road emerges into a wide, well tilled plain in which stands Munich, having in point of situation nothing whatever to recommend it. This was a pleasure excursion of two easy days from Innspruck.

The principal passes into Italy have thus been contrasted and described, from a belief that any assistance or information, however slight, may help the invalid or tourist to select the route most suitable to his condition or wishes.

Autumnal travellers must here be warned to remember the inundations to which it seems to me every district of Italy is liable. The principal rivers are,—the Arno, Adige, Magra, Po, Ticino, and Tiber,—these, with many minor streams, constantly overflow their banks in October, and sometimes deluge the surrounding country. It is then travelling in Italy becomes truly miserable—roads broken up, bridges carried away, the fields resembling vast lakes, with trees growing in the water, and wherever the ground is uncovered

by the inundation it is converted into slimy mud. The country inns, only tolerable in fine weather, are then felt in their full wretchedness. Without warmth, cleanliness, acceptable food, or the means of making yourself comfortable, you are anxious to escape in the morning, and yet fearful of finding more cheerless quarters in the evening. The country inns are, however, improved: there are generally two or three good rooms if you are in time to secure them, but when you arrive early, and the host thinks there is a chance of another party, he will tell lies and try to put off those whom he has secured, with the inferior apartments. It is, therefore, necessary to search the house well, and be firm with mine host, threatening instant departure unless the desired accommodation is given. He will not suffer his prey to escape. There is an indescribably filthy village between Genoa and Pisa named Borghetto, of which Mr. Brockedon, in his road book from London to Naples, tells a pleasant story. Being forced, with his party, by severity of weather to stay in the hotel, the accommodations were found miserable, the food uneatable, but the party were coaxed into good humour by the landlord's apologies for not having *any bullocks' liver* in the house, of which he said he had learned the English were particularly fond. Even here, however, I can assert the hotel is much improved since Mr. Brockedon published.

Some of the rivers flow on beds which are but little inclined, thus when the inundation begins the mischief is the more quickly and widely spread. Nor does it appear that any vigorous measures are adopted to prevent a recurrence of these disasters by embankments or otherwise. It is as necessary in Italy for a postilion to know how to swim as to ride. In Oc-

tober, 1845, the Tiber overflowed its banks, and the roads were under water, a carriage with four horses tried to enter Rome, the water got suddenly deep under the horses' feet, the leading postilion fell from his saddle, and, being unable to swim, was drowned. The popes have heretofore found it as difficult to control the Tiber as their subjects, both have been turbulent and unruly, possibly Pius IX. may charm them into submission. The Po and the Magra are crossed by what is termed a *pont volant*, or flying bridge.

"These bridges consist of a large floating stage, or a boat that can receive several carriages; this is anchored by a long hawser to some ground fastening, one or two hundred fathoms up the stream, the length of the hawser being proportioned to the width of the river. To keep the rope above water, it is sustained by more or less small boats, which sheer with the motion of the ferry-boat or stage. All that is necessary is to let the current take the bows of the latter obliquely, when it sheers across the river as a matter of course."*

We crossed the Po between Pavia and Genoa last October by the bridge of boats, the far side of the bridge was barely above water, the police compelled all passengers to descend from the carriages and walk. In forty eight hours after, it was impassable, and the country a vast lake. The banks of the Po between Venice and Bologna after a flood, are, for a considerable distance, cemented into a mass of thick slime and mud, through which carriages are dragged by bullocks, and ladies assisted or carried by men in attendance for the purpose. But the passage of the Magra, near Surzana is agreed on by all travellers as the most detest-

* Cooper.

able in Italy, the road leading to this turbulent river and the country adjoining, are, after an inundation, changed into a horrid swamp. There is no permanent bridge, and often for days it is impossible to cross the swollen torrent; when the waters subside, the roads are in a shocking condition, and it happened last autumn in my case, from the number of travellers waiting to be ferried over, that I had to remain for two hours in a spot which must approach nearest in Europe to Mr. Dickens's graphic description of the American Eden. The state in which this place is left by Sardinia is disgraceful to a country pretending to civilization.

The Arno, despite its poetic name, is a most ill-behaved river, sometimes almost dry; after the autumnal rains it is changed into a mighty torrent, grand to look at, but disagreeable to the Florentines when it forces into their gardens and dwellings, as it did in 1844, spreading desolation. However, there are along this river stupendous embankments, and bridges as spacious and strong as they are elegant of structure. It appears from Tacitus* (who expressly mentions the Tiber and Arno) that the inundations of these rivers proved, from the most early ages, a source of alarm and annoyance to the Romans, and that the senate publicly discussed the best measures for abating the evil.

We may calculate the mischief of inundations in this country from the violence of the rain, for its an-

* Actum deinde in senatu ab Arruntio et Ateio, an ob moderandas Tiberis exundationes verterentur flumina et lacus, per quos augescit. Auditæque municipiorum et coloniarum legationes, orantibus Florentinis, "ne Clanis solito alveo demotus in amnem Arnum transferretur, idque ipsis perniciem adferret."

TACITUS, *Annal.* lib. i. 79.

nual height is about double that of our climate, while its duration is not one half. Thus it rains incessantly sometimes for weeks, and all is bright again; the invalid will do wisely to avoid travelling in Italy during the rainy season, let him, if he can endure it at this period of the year, prefer the sea.

We are liable, occasionally, in Italy, to greater perils. Of all the disasters to which a country can be subject, that of earthquakes seems the most awful. Bacon has written:—"The great winding sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two, deluges and earthquakes;" and from these last convulsions of nature Italy has frequently, and dreadfully suffered. Mr. Spalding observes:—

"The most interesting feature in the physical history of the Calabrias, is the frequency of their earthquakes. Ever since the Greeks settled in Italy, these provinces have been desolated by such visitations, and for the last century and a half they have scarcely ever been free from them for more than ten years. The most terrible instances in modern times have been those of 1633 and 1783. In the latter of these, in the Calabrias and in Sicily together, there perished 40,000 persons, besides 20,000 more, who died from the diseases and starvation caused by it. In a circle extending round Oppido in Calabria ultra, within a circumference of 120 miles, the whole country was laid waste, and every town and village destroyed. The surface heaved, hills slid into the plains, while the quay of Messina sank fourteen inches, other land altered its level still more, the ground yawned in fissures, which sometimes, after swallowing up houses and men, closed and left no trace, but sometimes opened again, and threw out their victims. On the coast of the Straits of Messina, vast masses of the sea-cliff fell down, burying gardens and dwellings, and one such

mass detached from Mount Jaci, beside the classical rock of Scylla, rolled by night to the margin of the Mediterranean, which immediately rose with a wave more than twenty feet high. The Prince of Scylla and his vassals were asleep either in fishing-boats, or on a low beach, having fled from the falling houses. The wave swept over the whole multitude, returned, dashed up the beach again, and carried into the sea those whom it had first spared. About 1400 persons perished."

Again, the whole district round Foligno was, on the 13th January, 1832, shaken by an earthquake, and lately, in the summer of 1846, the beautiful duchy of Tuscany was rent by this most terrible visitation of God.

I visited, a few weeks after, some of the places which had severely suffered. What an awful contemplation, in the midst of joy, and apparent abundance, and the exhilarating prospect of reaping largely the fruits of man's industry; the earth rocks under the feet of those whom her bounty sustains, and yawns for their destruction; habitations and harvests and men vanish, the earth closes again, and the survivors are left terrified and prostrate,—an appalling example of the vicissitude of all human things! In Pisa was published by Signor Tabani, a brief account of the sudden disaster. It is an interesting and affecting story, a few extracts translated will suffice to shew the character of the narrative, the extent of the calamity, and the efforts made by the Tuscan people to remedy this national disaster. The subject may suggest a few concluding reflections. Signor Tabani begins:—

"In narrating the ruin by which we have been lately smitten, my tears should be as many as my words. But

these will not be all tears of grief. If I must recount ruins, misery, griefs, I shall have to describe also (and it is consolatory) a triumph of charity and religion. Tuscany, within the memory of man, felt not such a year as that of which I write. The winter had nothing of winter but the name; spring was warm; summer was parching. In the words of holy writ, the cataracts of heaven were closed, the earth moistened only by the sweat of the husbandmen, ungratefully returned their labours. Deploring the poor harvest, our breasts throbbing on account of the uncertain fate of the other fruits of the soil, we hastened suppliantly to the altars, and often did we ask one of the other, this year what will it be to us? to none certainly did the thought occur, that under the earth a horrible convulsion was preparing for us. In the beginning of August, the sky, in parts, over Pisa, was overcast with clouds. Whitish in the day, dark towards night, they drew together towards the west, and appeared to promise the desired rain, but rain came not, or so scantily as to resemble water sprinkled on the burning coals of a forge. And in this manner, weighed down by an oppressive air, we arrived at the 14th of August, a day to be marked amongst the most dismal in our history. The night previous the vault of heaven was saddened by the usual clouds sluggish and broken. In the morning we heard that many dolphins were taken sporting near the mouth of the Arno.

"We remembered the swallows, a month before their accustomed time, had departed from our clime; several of us saw a prodigious quantity of wasps after twelve o'clock, with unusual restlessness, cover the windows of many habitations. Poor animals, by instinct alone, they were forewarned of the approaching calamity, and they announced to man, haughty in his reason, that which he could neither foresee nor comprehend. Meanwhile the air became more and more sultry, the sun mysteriously sad, each succeeding

moment shed a paler light, when lo! six or seven minutes before one o'clock, there was a deep sound; it seemed to resemble the blast of a tempest, but not a breath stirred. The noise grew louder, and left not a doubt as to the calamity which assailed us. I sprang on the little terrace of my house; the house began to vibrate, in the front, at the back, on the right hand and the left, all the buildings shook. To the motion from below succeeded a violent undulating motion above, lasting not less than twelve seconds. Pisa, as it were reeling, struck terror into the hardest hearts, for it seemed as if on the point of being swallowed up. The little bells of the doors and chambers sounded, the great bell of the tower, of itself, tolled, as when announcing a calamity, and perhaps one more awful it never announced. In a few seconds, from Elba to the Apennines of Pistoja, from Orbetello to Magra, 300 miles round of the Tuscan territory, was but a theatre of terror, much of it of lamentation, ruin, and death. The scenes which meanwhile occurred within domestic walls it is much more easy to imagine than to describe; one only shall I relate, because more solemn than the rest:—The grand council of the commune of Pisa sat in deliberation in the chamber of its palace, which is called 'the hall of pictures.' At that moment, when they feared it would be their tomb, the councillors adorned as they were, in their insignia, prostrated themselves before God. The pious priest, Raimonde Masi, one of the council, raised the prayer for the dying,—to all he gave the benedictions, and all, with resignation, awaited death. Heaven willed they should be saved. Meanwhile those who could, escaped from their threatening dwellings; they rushed out precipitately, some half naked. Promiscuously they fled, feeling the ground under their feet horribly convulsed; they believed it but offered them a sepulchre, and seeing the houses ready to cover this sepulchre in their fall, they exclaimed in a piteous cry, '*O Gesu mio*,

oggi è la fine del mondo, Maria Santissima, i miei genitori, i miei figli, i miei fratelli: signore, pietà di noi, poveri peccatori.'

"And God had pity on Pisa, which in comparison had but slight injuries to lament, and yet it seemed likely to be turned upside down. Of its four noble monuments, the Baptistery and the Campanile remained unhurt, although this last, as they who saw it say, by the fury of the subterranean storm, rocked like a tree. The Campo Santo suffered some slight injuries; the cathedral had a cross shaken from the roof, and a huge square stone rent from the vault of one of the lateral windows, and hurled into the spacious piazza. All the buildings suffered somewhat, but entire ruin overtook the church of St. Michael.

"We remembered what had passed with horror; we trembled for the future; and a great part of the citizens, leaving their habitations, which they believed insecure, spent in the open air the ensuing night, and in the morning assembled, more than elsewhere, on the Piazza of St. Catherine. Rich and poor, commoner and noble, all mingled together: misfortune rendered them truly brothers in Him, who, when earth failed, would receive all equally in the immense compass of His divine arms."

The writer then proceeds to describe feelingly the results of the earthquake in various surrounding districts; I translate his narrative relative to Orciano:—

"Orciano was formerly a village which belonged to the Republic of Pisa. In 1404 Pietro Gætani sold it to Florence in return for the privilege of Florentine citizenship, and from that time it retrograded. In our day it consisted, however, of numerous dwellings, its inhabitants about 761; on the day of the 14th of August it ceased to exist. With what fury the earthquake scourged it, words suffice not to describe, the tremendous eloquence of the ruins loudly pro-

claims it. Poor Orciano! would I could have been Ezekiel when I saw thee; raise yourselves, oh! houses; raise yourselves, ye destroyed. Alas! I have but the tears of Jeremiah to shed over thy destruction. The Lord has thrown down its altars, destroyed the sanctuary, broken its images. The streets mourn, peopled only by ruins—young and old lie on the ground, thou hast widows and orphans. Miserable Orciano, console thyself, Christ has carried charity amongst men.

"The shock there was not as elsewhere. There was heard a subterranean noise, as it were of a thousand rams trampling on the hard crust of the earth. Then a brief shock, and Orciano was no more. In this horrible convulsion 170 were lacerated by contusions and wounds, sixteen killed. The task would be too cruel to recount the sufferings of all."

The author's residence was at Riparbella; he says:—

"I arrived at Riparbella when the night was far advanced, my father conducted me into his chamber, and said to me, I was lying on my bed waiting the hour of our repast; suddenly it appeared to me that my bed had become a bark in a stormy sea. The wall behind my head broke in pieces, and believing myself lost, I thought only of recommending my family and my soul to God. The Lord had mercy on all of us.

"The total number of houses in this village was 137; houses demolished, 15; all the rest damaged: population, 1450; severely wounded, 4; killed, 4. In Castel Nuovo, 140 houses; 14 destroyed, 28 much damaged; all the rest more or less injured: population 1500; wounded, 18; killed, 5. Lorenzana, 131 houses; 40 ruined; all the rest injured: population, 1006; wounded, 95; killed, 7. Montescudajo, houses 133; destroyed, 80; all the rest more or less injured: population, 1080; wounded, 14; killed, 8. Luciana, houses 82; destroyed, 34; damaged, 48: popu-

lation, 650; wounded, 50; killed, 8. Orciano, houses 113; houses prostrated, 99; all the rest left unhabitable: population, 761; wounded, with danger to life, 95; more slightly, 75; killed, 19."

These are the results as to six villages only, but they afford ample proof of the nature of this awful visitation. Having given these tables, Signor Tabani feelingly adds,—

"And are not these calamities sufficient, although they may not be the greater part of the disasters which happened, to draw tears of anguish from every eye?"

The account given me in Leghorn, a few weeks after the event, of the earthquake as felt in that busy place was very simple and affecting. Thus spoke my host:—The 14th of August was intensely hot, the sky cloudless, the sea smooth as a mirror, the weather for days had been oppressive, and no rain had fallen for a considerable time. Without the slightest warning here, the town rocked, many houses were split open, and their affrighted inhabitants rushed into the streets to find refuge they knew not where. Providentially no life was lost, but the damage to habitations and property was considerable.

The hotel of St. Marc, which I saw, suffered terribly. Many a careless traveller was there warned of the uncertainty of life. As to the means adopted to relieve the sufferers and repair the calamity, Signor Tabani mentions, that scarcely had intelligence of the calamity reached the government, when a minister of state, and an inspector of engineers of roads were dispatched to ascertain on the spot the extent of the disaster. All the governors of districts acted with the utmost energy under the direction of the state. The

affectionate solicitude of the Grand Duke for his subjects, prompted him, when he had directed general measures required by the emergency, to visit in person, attended by the director of public works, the afflicted districts, and learn accurately the amount of mischief done, and the best means to repair it. Then with an anxiety proportioned to the urgency of the case, every kind of succour was sent where required. Companies of tradesmen were employed by the Grand Duke to level houses that were dangerous, to repair those injured, to aid in rebuilding others; materials, provisions, hospitals, and physicians were abundantly supplied. The Sovereign himself did not deem it derogatory to his station to labour in this work of love, and he animated all by his example. Of the sufferers it is written, that they sustained with religious resignation their unexpected misfortunes, and in a cheerful spirit, and with a lively gratitude, received and profited by the succours and comforts which a paternal government afforded them. I ought to add the destruction of gardens, trees, vineyards, and harvests was great, in fact, the finest part of Tuscany was desolated. Signor Tabani concludes by inquiring, how behaved the people who escaped to those who were in poverty and suffering? He answers, all contended with each other in the holy work of charity, their minds were affected by the influence of faith and charity, in which consists true religion. I forbear to translate the account of religious processions, of the exposing of images, and the like, of which many would disapprove. The principle of their devotions was right, it consisted of an appeal to God for mercy, proceeding from a consciousness of man's weakness and of God's omnipotence. The ceremonies of the Christian religion differ, but the

same sentiment exalts itself in the different sacred rites, there is the same want of help, the same cry of anguish. Their clergy taught the Tuscans, that the poor were the living temple of Jesus Christ, that no sacrifice or offering could be more acceptable to him, than the charity which practises self-denial to relieve the miserable. The people responded to this teaching, and the clergy not only taught their flocks compassion, but themselves gave an example; each offered some particular succour to the afflicted, *all indiscriminately renounced some emolument or indulgence*, in order to increase the amount collected by the piety of the faithful. Thus did the clergy, the laity, and the government of Tuscany combine to repair the losses and miseries, which their country suffered from the awful visitation of providence.

We have been considering the extent and nature of a terrible calamity, which suddenly visited what is thought to be the happiest quarter of Italy, where the people are prosperous and tranquil; where commerce flourished and the polite arts once were cultivated with brilliant success.

The ways of Providence are inscrutable. Nations it would seem, like individuals, must suffer, and learn through the sad lessons of affliction, the mutability and mortality of all human things. The very people who confidently pronounce themselves the favoured of the earth, in an instant are cast down and taught humility by terrible trials. Pompeii and Herculaneum were engulfed while their inhabitants revelled in all the sensual engagements of their earthly paradise.

Nor can we, living under a diviner dispensation, whose teaching we may have despised, expect to escape the chastisement, or it may be the useful though severe

visitation of God. Let us accept the visitation without murmuring and examine ourselves whether we may not have deserved it. A blessing it may prove if it teach sobriety of thought, benevolence, energy, union. The Tuscans have just endured an awful disaster. How did they meet it? They supplicated God and roused themselves to action. Ireland has suffered, and is suffering from a calamity not so terrible, but more extensive and enduring; and how should Irishmen labour to mitigate or avert it? By the earnest zeal of Christians, and the vigorous energy of men. Every individual in Tuscany considered the partial destitution as his immediate concern, and felt it a duty to back the exertions of the State with his personal efforts. Thus by unanimity and action whole towns have been rebuilt, the sufferings of the people have been relieved, their vineyards restored, and their losses repaired. Yet Tuscany is a poor country compared with England or Ireland, has few gentry, no wealthy middle class, no well paid functionaries, and was but ill prepared for a disaster, none similar to which had occurred for ages. Some amongst the Tuscans, inquired with solicitude what had been done in Ireland for those who, like themselves, but not so terribly, had suffered? I answered, much had been done to supply the wants of the Irish people; and no doubt there has, and it affords matter for thankfulness and hope to behold a government so anxious, and a gentry so active, amidst suffering almost universal. But might not something more still be done by the united efforts of all who have capacity to think, and ability to act, for the amelioration of immediate suffering, and the effecting of future permanent good? What seems a curse might, through

wisdom, be changed into a blessing. But to gain a blessing we must deserve it; and if we deserve and labour for it in a right spirit we are not unlikely to acquire it. The national character, like that of individuals, may be improved by trial, and strengthened by endurance; moderation, fortitude, charity, are heroic virtues, and they grow and flourish in adversity. It is the duty, the sacred duty of every Christian, if he would escape sin, to labour now for the common benefit. "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." This is tolerably plain, and very express,—do we believe it? If so, do we perform it! To the inquiry of ready benevolence what can I do of utility to my suffering countrymen? The answer is short,—all you ought to do:—why should the duty of exertion be cast on the government exclusively, or on the landed gentry exclusively? Why should any class shrink from the responsibility which in the sight of God affects all alike!

What is asked abroad is,—have all classes of the middle ranks helped by a great exertion the starving Irish, not only with their advice and counsel but with their money and example? And there is sense in the inquiry; and further it is asked have the Irish people submitted to be guided by sound advice, and proved themselves worthy the sacrifices made on their behalf? What a vast field for interesting investigation and zealous activity, and the application of extensive knowledge does the sudden change of a nation's common article of food suggest and demand? The more imminent the danger, the greater the calamity,—the more imperative is it not merely to endeavour to think rightly, but act energetically.

The fable of Hercules and the Swain has an uni-

versal application. If we do not help ourselves we cannot expect others to assist us. But additional advantages will flow from this combined, large, active benevolence. The exhibition of it will show to the English people what the Irish character really is, how different from what malevolent calumny would represent it. The continent of Europe will applaud those whom it has been taught heretofore to censure and condemn, and the national character will be exalted, purified, invigorated.

A great responsibility now rests on political leaders of the people, who can influence for good or evil the popular mind of Ireland. Uneducated masses of men stung by want, require to have their feelings not stimulated but softened; for their own advantage they should be taught to regard their rulers and superiors if not with reverence at least with patience; when those who strain every nerve to aid the people in their emergencies are resisted and insulted, an excuse is furnished to the lukewarm to retire from the ill-requited labours of benevolence. A greater crime could scarce be conceived than that of making use of the miseries of the people to enforce the preposterous fallacy that all their sufferings will be relieved by mere political reform! It is to divert the minds of the unhappy people from practical objects to the pursuit of theories hopeless or dangerous or impossible. This indeed is losing the substance, and grasping vainly at a shadow. Of all reforms, self-reform is the most needed, the most valuable, the most practicable.

If Irishmen could resolve well, and perform resolutely what they had well resolved, they themselves would effect more lasting good for their country than the wise men of Greece, if permitted to revisit the

earth, could accomplish. It is possible to abate the rancour of political dissension, and lessen the asperity of religious disputation; it is possible to reform the temper, moderate the language, repress the evil passions, and practise the endearing charities of life; although it may be difficult to break up the integrity of the British Empire. It is as easy, and quite as cheap to form clubs and associations for the advancement of any object connected with the moral and physical welfare of the people, as to combine men in political confederations, and set such associations in mortal opposition one against the other. Which would most tend to the happiness of the people it requires little consideration to decide. What an excellent project it would be to form a society of Irishmen, having for its patriotic object to direct the attention of the people to the prodigious blessings they derive from the laws and institutions under which they live, and contrast them with those of every other country in the world. It would then appear to the edification of the ignorant, and the complete satisfaction of every honest mind, that political liberty is enjoyed in as great a measure by Ireland, as by any other country in Europe; that the great lesson required to be taught the people, is how to make it available for the attainment, and quiet enjoyment of abundance, wealth, and happiness. Social evils may no doubt exist, under a system of laws of which Solon might have been proud, but Solon would scarcely have suggested the alteration or destruction of what was confessedly good, in order to lessen or remove an admitted evil. The comprehension of what is really the mischief, leads directly to a comprehension of what is the remedy, and if all or a great proportion of men of estate, capital, education,

and honesty, could agree on these points, they would be likely to influence before long the people, who would be the gainers by their disinterested exertions. The careless might then by example be spurred into activity, the people embrace sober industry, the heartless absentee be shamed or forced to do justice, the business of agitation slacken, and a beautiful kingdom flourish.

CHAPTER II.

TUSCANY.

Anticipations of Rome.—Florence and its Cascine.—The Arno.—Papal Rebels.—Catholic Inconsistencies.—Climate in Winter.—Florence in Spring.—Aspect of People.—Pompous Titles of Salutation.—Their Origin in Degeneracy of Modern Italy.—The Galleries of Art.—Classic Statuary.—Canova and Napoleon.—The Collections in Florence.—Work of past Ages.—Reflections.—The Fine Arts, so called.—Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry and Oratory considered and distinguished.—Union of Sculpture with Architecture.—Examples of, in Florence.—John Bell's Criticism.—Michael Angelo.—Santa Croce and its Monuments.—Causes of Excellence of Grecian and Florentine Art.—Causes of Decline.—Do Art Unions and Engravings foster Art or Artists?

"Of all the fairest cities of the earth
None is so fair as Florence. 'Tis a gem
Of purest ray; and what a light broke forth,
When it emerged from darkness! Search within,
Without; all is enchantment! 'Tis the Past
Contending with the Present; and in turn
Each has the mastery."

October, 1845.
May, 1846.

Separated from the pursuits which heretofore occupied an active professional life, with impaired energies, I find myself in Florence, seeking that blessing least appreciated, quickly lost, and slowly recovered—

health. But most evils bring with them some alleviating advantages; this break in the career of busy life will afford time for reflection, useful reading, agreeable travel, and for the examination of objects and books most worthy of inspection, study, and remembrance. I grow impatient to "awake in Rome." The Capitol, the Forum, and the men which made such scenes immortal, are before the eyes of my mind, and I almost think, when on the spot and filling my soul with befitting associations, I shall get acquainted with the illustrious characters of antiquity. The scene of one memorable event in Roman history we passed on our road to this place—I mean the island in the Reno, where the second triumvirate met to deliberate on their villainies.

Florence is described as "the beautiful," but the description is exaggerated, at least as far as regards the town merely. The surrounding country is lovely, diversified by every object which can lend charm to a landscape, refresh the eye, or delight the heart of man. The "City of the Lily" is surrounded by high walls once ornamented with towers, which, in the quaint language of an old writer "encircled the city like a garland;" now, these walls are useless and ugly, although many call them picturesque. They are without promenades, and their present advantage, while they obstruct air, ventilation, and prospect, appears to be, to enable the *douanier* to tease travellers on entering the town for passports and bribes. There are eight gates in a circuit of some six miles, and they each conduct to scenes of peculiar interest and beauty. The Arno unequally divides the city, three *quartieri* being on the north and one on the south side. This river having so poetic a name, is sometimes a shallow

stream, then a swollen furious torrent, at all times so muddy, I doubt if a fish could live in its thick waters. Three spacious bridges span this river, two of modern and elegant construction, and the third, Ponte Vecchio, very ancient, with shops, chiefly jewellers', and stalls along it, as in the olden time. The broad quays form a pleasant walk; and there is no shipping to remind one of the vulgarity of trade or business. There are seven or eight piazze, one half perhaps spacious, none handsome, quite unlike our squares in character and appearance. The streets have an aspect of "stern and sober dignity," although they are in general narrow, flagged all across, and in rainy weather slippery as glass—especially on the bridges; the horses are accustomed to fall under the carriages and do not regard it; they are all broken on the knees. The houses are lofty, and have a gloomy appearance; the palaces are very numerous, of massive architecture, and solid grandeur, built as much for security in times of peril, as for splendid residence in times of peace; memorials of a greatness by-gone. The churches, many of them magnificent within, tell by their outward appearance a melancholy tale—unfinished, dingy, with bare gables of dirty bricks, ready for the coating of marble they never received. Brave and pious hearts designed these temples, when Florence was free; these brave and pious hearts have long ceased to beat. The generation of triflers who succeeded, could only wonder at the energy of a noble ancestry which they had no power to imitate.

The favourite drive of the Florentines is to their Cascine, being in fact a dairy farm of the Grand Duke, which stretches to the edge of the Arno, and where pleasant walks and shady trees, and bright prospects abound. I do not recollect ever to have seen a more

delightful view than is visible to the right as you drive to the Cascine; vineyards and gardens fill up the landscape, bounded by a mountain of moderate height, studded all over with shining villas, so numerous that, were they collected together, "a second Rome would not contain them."

> "Se dentro un mur sotto un medesmo nome
> Fosser raccolti i tuoi palazzi sparsi,
> Non ti sarian da pareggiar due Rome."

To this Cascine-the gay Florentines each evening repair. The carriages draw up in a wide space near the Corso, and beaux of fashion say soft things to fair ladies, while bouquets of fragrant flowers are presented at the carriage windows by flower-girls (not unfrequently ugly old women), who sell these delicate blossoms. Our *cocchiere* amused us by announcing the great fashionables as they passed. "*Regardez Monsieur Poniatowski!*" up dashed a moustached Pole, (nephew of him who so nobly fell at Leipsic), driving a high curricle at the rate of twelve miles an hour; then an American racing, I may say, in a kind of accelerator, all wheels and no body; then a Russian prince or princess; then the old brother of Napoleon the Grand; then the son of Ali Pacha and his Turks; lastly, the Grand Duke of Tuscany himself, unpretendingly walking along the footway with his little son and the tutor. It must not be supposed that the Cascine is so extensive or well adapted for exercise, especially on horseback, as the parks near London or Dublin.

The hanging gardens of Boboli attached to the Pitti Palace, open to the public two days in the week, are laid out with Italian taste and studied effect. They are extensive, regular, and adorned with numerous statues. They consist of terraces and avenues of trees

forming shady arcades, statues being placed in the most striking positions. The two basins of water are enclosed with marble and crowned with groups of allegorical figures, statues, &c., and the gardens are filled with the choicest flowers; orange and lemon trees are abundant, but in winter they are covered from the harsh air of the Apennines. The regular clipped hedge-rows give this garden an artificial though elegant appearance. Their great charm, however, arises from their position, and the varied and commanding points of view which they afford. Standing on some of the raised terraces, the surrounding amphitheatre is a fair scene on which to gaze. The slopes of the Apennines covered with smiling villas, vineyards, and olive groves, "a land of wine and oil;" the fair city, with its domes and *campaniles*, and battlemented towers, spread out at our feet, recals to our mind her ancient splendour.

I do not believe there is in any of the great towns in Italy so admirable a specimen of the native style of garden; somewhat formal, yet fanciful, suited to the climate, and entertaining.

Much excitement prevails just now in Florence, from the circumstance of a party of rebels engaged in the late insurrection against the Pope, having escaped into the Tuscan territory and delivered themselves up to the Grand Duke. Their leader, Signor Renzi, is said to be a person of some property and respectability; about one hundred of his followers are in confinement with him. What surprises me is the sympathy expressed for these patriots, as they are called, by the Tuscan people. It seems universal. The feeling of compassion for the revolted subjects of the Pope is as strong as the indignation and contempt expressed for the government of His Holiness.

Devout Catholics, who believe in the infallibility of the holy father in things spiritual, openly avow their belief in his incapacity and fallibility and tyranny in things temporal. A Pope, it seems, may be, and is, the only infallible interpreter of the Council of Trent; yet the people who believe this, declare that same Pope to be unable to govern his subjects with a rule of reason or justice. Such inconsistencies are however not uncommon in papal history. We read in the narrative of the reign of Paul IV., who struggled to expel the Spaniards from Italy, that the Duke of Alva, the most ferocious bigot and persecutor of his age, led the Spanish army of true believers against the Pope. And who defended the holy father against such excellent Catholics? says the historian :—

"The most efficient among them were Germans, all of whom were Protestants. They mocked at the images of saints in the roads, and in the churches; laughed at the mass, disregarded the fasts, and committed a hundred acts for which the Pope would have punished every one of them, under other circumstances, with death."

Alva was victorious, came to Rome with the deepest veneration, kissed the foot of the vanquished and inveterate foe of his nation and his king. He said, "he had never feared the face of man, as he did that of the Pope." So inconsistent must the conduct of men become, when they adopt abstract opinions, difficult to reconcile with reason and the Scriptures, and impossible to be acted on in the affairs of life. When the Florentines ascertained that the Grand Duke refused to deliver up the miserable refugees to papal vengeance, their delight was unbounded. His highness was received with acclamations, and on appearing at the opera, the people

showered bouquets of flowers into his box. He has humanely determined to send Renzi and his companions into France. It will hereafter be my task to learn the true history of this late insurrection in the papal states, the causes which led to it, and to inquire into the nature of that government which forces its subjects into such frequent and sanguinary rebellions.

While time was agreeably consumed amidst sight-seeing and studying, and in pleasant excursions under a genial sun, suddenly the summer weather changed to piercing cold, a biting north-east wind blew, more cutting than I had ever felt in the northern counties of England. The Italians, universally muffled to the throat, and wrapped in their huge cloaks, looked like brigands. The sun shining brightly while the intense cold prevailed, tempted invalids to venture out. I suffered in consequence, and the physician, accustomed to the effects of this climate, adopting such precautionary measures as he deemed right, hurried me off to Rome without further delay. It is difficult to comprehend what can induce invalids, requiring the aid of climate, to select Florence as a winter residence. Sir James Clarke writes (what from experience of two winter visits I can vouch for the truth of) :—

"Though Florence is one of the most agreeable residences in Italy, it is far from being a favourable climate for an invalid, and least of all for an invalid disposed to consumption. Its situation among the lower Apennines, by which it is almost encircled, and the higher summits of which are covered with snow during the winter, together with its full exposure to the currents of the valley of the Arno, render Florence subject to sudden transitions of temperature, and to cold piercing winds during the winter and spring. Fogs, too, are more common here than in most parts of southern Italy. Dr.

Playfair describes the months of December and January as intensely cold, especially during the nights; February and March cold and humid, the east winds of the latter month being extremely keen, and often checking the progress of vegetation. In consumption and all-inflammatory diseases of the chest the climate of Florence is injurious. Dr. Playfair never allowed a patient of this class to remain at Florence after October: *indeed, acute inflammation of the lungs is one of the most prevalent and fatal diseases among the inhabitants in the winter and spring.* On the other hand, the dry bracing character of the climate renders it useful in diseases accompanied with relaxation."

May, 1846.

There is an indescribable charm in travel, through such a country as Italy, in glorious weather, as we had during an excursion of a week from Rome to Florence. The last day's drive through the valley of the Arno was the most interesting, while the descent into the vale of Florence from the heights of St. Donato afforded a combination of rare delights. Around and before us were hills covered with vineyards, groves, and gardens; the high grounds planted with olives; the whole showing a mass of rich yet picturesque vegetation. There was a delicious stillness in the evening air.

The fair city lay before us in the distance, attractive from the magnificence of the objects presented to the eye; the towers and churches rose up in graceful beauty; the setting sun gilded with his rays the mighty dome, which shone like a vast ball of fire, and showed in bright contrast the buildings which clustered around it. I imagine Constantinople itself could not exceed the beauty and the splendour of this view of Florence. I never before felt the truth of the expression, "Florence the beautiful." Most willingly now do I accord it.

At this season a more pleasing residence could not, I believe, be found in the compass of the world. For days past we have enjoyed a most delightful climate, the air warm yet fresh, the sky ever blue, the mornings wholesome, the nights still and refreshing. How pleasantly have weeks glided away in examining the gems of art, the memorials of genius, the treasures of Italy created and accumulated, when she was the light and glory of Europe; in enjoying, too, the rich and diversified natural scenery which surrounded us; hills clad with the olive and the vine, valleys laughing in their abundance, plains teeming with produce, mountains not so lofty as to astonish the eye, but high enough to give effect to the landscape, and to cool and invigorate the frame of man by the wholesome breezes which descend from them. Poetical and true are Byron's lines:—

"But Arno wins us to the fair white walls,
Where the Etrurian Athens claims and keeps
A softer feeling for her fairy halls,
Girt by her theatre of hills, she reaps
Her corn, and wine, and oil, and plenty leaps
To laughing life, with her redundant horn.
Along the banks where smiling Arno sweeps
Was modern luxury of commerce born,
And buried learning rose redeemed to a new morn."

It is singular also to find oneself amidst a people all of whom appear to be equally civilized, and no doubt there is at the present day an extraordinary appearance of general civilization among the Florentines. Their dress, conversation, amusements, courtesy, and love of order, all betoken it; beside, they are a people kept in good order by an amiable absolute prince. We were fortunate in obtaining an apartment in one of the ancient palaces of Florence, looking into a fragrant

garden full of flowers and sweet-smelling plants, where the orange and lemon trees were cultivated with the greatest industry and success. To those accustomed to the uncertainties of a northern sky, there is something most exhilarating to the spirits in the climate of Italy as it is felt in spring: one bright day succeeds another; the sun shines each morning in cloudless splendour; the nights are soft and delicious; the landscape is mellowed with tints and colours, of which in colder climes there can be no conception. Time flew happily in a scene where the efforts of art vied with the luxuriance of nature.

The population of Florence is about 90,000. The aspect of the people is pleasing; they are courteous in manner, well clad, and more refined in their language, although not quite so decent in their habits, as the common people of our islands. A stranger, judging from appearances, would conclude the Florentines to be a wealthy people, from their dress, their finery, their equipages, and love of show. On a festal day the women, even in an humble walk of life, are decked out with ornaments of gold in profusion. The men are also very grand in their holyday attire, insomuch that a traveller would conclude that these people must be very vain or very rich, or he might surmise there was an affectation of wealth without its reality, and likewise a trifling frivolity of manner without firmness or dignity of character. The outward appearance is in their favour. Beggars are proscribed in the town, but abound in the suburbs. If money be plenty it must be easily made, for every man appears to be at leisure. Their mode of speech and salutation, so exaggerated and pompous, at once strikes offensively on the ear of a reflecting man; the love of such poor conceits would seem to be a proof

of the degradation of the people. The lowest title lavished on a plain man in Italy is "*Eccellenza.*" It was not possible to believe this bombastic style of salutation prevailed in the days of her true greatness and liberty. Accordingly I was pleased to find in Ranke's "History of the Popes" a solution of the cause of this vicious practice. He writes,—

"Republican independent Italy, on whose peculiar circumstances the earlier development of the genius of her sons depended, fell for ever. The freedom and simplicity of the intellectual commonwealth utterly vanished.

"It is worthy of note that *titles* were there introduced as early as the year 1520. Some persons remarked with disgust that every man wished to be called 'Sir,' a degeneracy of taste which was ascribed to Spanish influence. About the year 1550, ponderous epithets of honour already encumbered and oppressed the simple address by speech and letter hitherto in use. Towards the end of this century the titles of 'Duca' and 'Marchesa' became prevalent; *everybody wanted them, and everybody would be 'Eccellenza.'* It is easy to say that this love of trivialities has no great significancy; but its influence is still felt, long after the state of things which occasions it is obsolete; how much more when it was new! In every other respect also society became stricter, stiffer, more exclusive; the gay ease of earlier manners, the simple frankness of mutual intercourse, were gone for ever."

The galleries of painting* and statuary are, of

* The tourist can easily mark out for himself a simple division of the principal Italian schools of painting; this is useful for distinction and accuracy even to one who may not affect the character of a connoisseur.

Epoch 1st. 13th century. *Florentine School.—Cimabue,* the Michael Angelo of his age, as *Giotto* his pupil, the shepherd-boy,

course, the great attraction of Florence. The business of life here is to look at pictures, and talk about them. Miss in her teens lisps of the divine Raffaelle, and lounges with affected ecstasy in the hall of Niobe; her foreign education is finished when she can discriminate between the beauties of the "Fornarina" and Titian's glowing Venus—the Venus of antiquity in naked loveliness—and the more modest creation of Canova's genius. I may incur the wrath of pseudo-artists in presuming to write a word of censure, as to the indelicacy of diffident girls and modest matrons gazing with critical eye on pictures and statues which are openly indecent. My Oxford friend quietly observed to me, he thought we might as well walk about naked before each other as through these galleries, and I agree with him. The following sentences from the "Quarterly" express what I venture to think upon this subject:—

"Whatever may have been the faults and errors of the earlier Italian artists, they in their productions never sinned against decency—never displayed a figure which offended

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was called its Raffaelle. This painter is connected at once with the history of Job, in the Campo Santa, at Pisa. He died 1336.

Epoch 2nd.—*Leonardo da Vinci*, born 1452, painter, poet, sculptor, architect. *Michael Angelo Buonarotti*, born twenty-three years after Da Vinci, also an universal genius. These great men were rivals—one excelled in graceful design and exquisite execution—the other in sublimity of conception and grandeur of expression. Most critics prefer the chisel of Buonarotti to his pencil.

Epoch 3rd.—*Daniel da Volterra*, the best pupil of Michael Angelo, of whom see vol. ii. Rome. *Fra. Bartolommeo*, the friend of Savonarola, died 1517. *Andreo del Sarto* died 1530, surnamed Andrea *the faultless*.

Epoch 4th.—*Carlo Dolci*, *Lorenzo Lippi*, and many others. *Pietra da Cortona*.

against propriety; never wantoned in a group which could excite a loose idea—never pandered to the grosser passions of mankind: with the Greeks how otherwise! The grave archeologist may allegorise, the virtuoso may burst out into extatic rapture, but there is no flinching from the fact, that the antique collections which fill the Gallery or the Museum, the Vatican or the Louvre—which the aged are directed to venerate, the young to study for instruction—are pervaded by the most debasing sensuality, breathing in the marble and the bronze, and the more subtle and dangerous from the elegance and refinement which it assumes."

The Medici (styled the Benefactors of Florence, who have bequeathed to posterity ample proofs of boundless vanity and affectation) corrupted the art they are supposed to have revived, by the style they encouraged; and as to the *effect* of the arts in Italy since the period in which they attained their greatest elevation, that has been pithily, yet comprehensively, described by Mr. Drummond.

"Instead of making holy men and women, they have tended to habituate the eye and taste to scenes of indecency, which is one of the causes of the open dissoluteness of Italian society."

I have indulged in this digression, to check in some degree modern cant about the fine arts. I am aware the British National School of Statuary is averse to the nude, which Canova calls "*the language of the artist*," and without which he declares it is impossible to effect anything noble. The Emperor Napoleon, possessing some feelings of modesty, wished the great artist to design his statue in some form of drapery or dress. Canova replied that was impossible. "*Nemmeno Iddio, risposi, avrebbe potuto far mai una cosa bella, se avesse*

voluto ritrarre vostra maesta, cosi vestita coi calzoni e gli stivali, e alla Francesi."

It is said that the late Grand Duke of Tuscany offered to Mr. Pitt the contents of the Florentine Galleries at the period of the French invasion for a sum of 100,000*l*., clogged however with the condition of redemption if the purchase-money could be repaid, and Mr. Pitt is accused of having no taste, because he did not embrace the offer. This great statesman, when struggling against Napoleon for the existence of England which "stood alone, and stood amidst ruins"—ought, according to the critic, to have employed his time in the formation of a picture gallery in London. He weakly conceived the preservation of his country was a higher duty than the acquisition of paintings.

I have given a general outline merely of Florence, avoiding the details of the guide-books. The traveller has here collected before him within a narrow compass the finest specimens of sculpture, the grandest monuments of a peculiar architecture, paintings ever fresh with the stamp of genius, and varieties of skilful workmanship belonging to the curious arts—churches, palaces, museums, and galleries. But all, all are the product of glorious ages which are past, and if the tourist, in haste to glut his curiosity, can reflect for a moment, he must ask himself why is it that every brilliant or imposing object he examines should owe its origin to what he might call a comparatively uncivilized age? Have the energies of men dwindled into feebleness?—has piety ceased to exalt the soul or influence the imagination?—will invention no longer be inspired by genius? Is the civilization of our day, with its boasted improvements, unable to cope with "the victorious industry" of the men who flourished in a darker age? Has genius, in

disgust at our mean pursuits, taken wings and fled away to some more congenial clime, or will she come again to adorn and beautify and elevate these kingdoms, when intellectual and political freedom, pure faith, and high courage shall revisit and overspread the Italian soil?

Architecture, sculpture, and painting are termed the fine arts, in which poetry has been included, and by some oratory, on the principle that "*poeta est finitimus oratori.*" The attempt to include oratory amongst the fine arts is presumptuous, unless by oratory be meant the faculty of expressing sweet sounds, and embellishing phrases to tickle the ear, but not to move the soul—something distinguished wholly from eloquence, which is the noblest gift of God to man. I utterly deny eloquence to be a fine art, in the affected language of the day. By eloquence I understand the faculty which engages itself in the assertion of the great rights of the human race, in the vast concerns of life, in all that can render man dignified, free, and happy. Unless the tongue can utter burning thoughts, in daring language, eloquence cannot exist. Her tongue should disdain falsehood, flattery, equivocation. Despotism cannot endure the exercise of this divine talent. It struggles for empire with the tyrant, and shakes his power; he appeals to the sword, eloquence to the understanding; he tramples down his fellow-man, eloquence tries to raise him up erect, as one created free in the image of his Maker. Give it but scope, aided by true religion, informed by knowledge, and guided by virtue, it would work out the deliverance of man from spiritual, intellectual, or physical oppression. When the liberty of Athens fell, eloquence perished, although still as a school of fine arts, and even of philosophy, Athens flourished.

The true orator could not outlive his country, so did the "old man eloquent" exclaim, as he rolled forth his vehement invective against the corruption of his mighty adversary.

With the murder of Cicero died the soul of Roman eloquence. Rome thenceforward had poets, painters, architects, sculptors, philosophers—an orator never more. The pith, and brevity, and passion of the Greek, Tully may not have had, but his heart swelled with love of country, and he justly earned the hatred of her enemies. Let not eloquence, therefore, be degraded to the level of the fine arts, or even of literature itself; these in turn have ministered to the gratification of the voluptuous tyrant, or the amusement of an enslaved and corrupted people. Let it be remembered "the form of eloquence was never seen but on ground consecrated to free institutions." If, indeed, it be said that oratory *may*, like poetry, address itself to the imagination only, through the medium of words, and express and adorn what may affect the moral and intellectual powers of man, cavil will end. And we gladly admit also, that the fine arts have reached, and may reach their highest perfection, where freedom exists and eloquence rules the intellect with triumphant sway.

Architecture, sculpture, and painting, ought to be distinguished; the first cannot be considered as an imitative art, while sculpture and painting are strictly so; the marble and the canvas alike appealing to the memory as well as to the fancy, requiring the exercise of the judgment, and stimulating the affections. The remarks of Gibbon, in reference to the ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian, illustrate this distinction:—

"We are informed by a recent and judicious traveller that

the awful ruins of Spalatra are not less expressive of the decline of the arts, than of the greatness of the Roman empire in the time of Diocletian. If such was indeed the state of architecture, we must naturally believe that painting and sculpture had experienced a still more sensible decay. The practice of architecture is directed by a few general and even mechanical rules. But sculpture, and above all painting, propose to themselves the imitation not only of the forms of nature, but of the passions of the human mind. In these sublime arts the dexterity of the hand is of little avail, unless it is animated and guided by the most correct taste and observation."

Perhaps the historian here speaks too slightingly of architecture. The splendid conceptions of Sir Christopher Wren or of Michael Angelo, were not the result of a cold study of mechanical rules; and "the serene beauty of the Panthéon" must have been the product of exalted genius. Beauty, endurance, simplicity, yet varied combinations, with solidity and vastness, enter commonly into the idea of architecture, and they produce sublimity; no doubt, however, it has more of fixed rules than sculpture.

Architecture and sculpture may and ought to be considered in union, and Florence affords examples of this connection and its advantages. John Bell writes thus of that striking fabric called St. Michael's tower:—

"The finest proportions mark the form of the edifice, which, though rude, is noble, and deriving magnificence from the vastness of the building, the simplicity of its structure, and the size of the stones composing the pile. I do not know that *I have ever seen statuary unite so well with architecture.* The statues are in simple attitudes, and of noble dignified forms; the heads and drapery in a grand style, and such as

give a high impression of the state of the arts at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century."

A more forcible example of the value of this union of sculpture with architecture, is to be seen in the Basilica of San Lorenzo :—

"In the Sagrestia Nuova, we have the rare union of architecture and sculpture arising out *of one conception*, the building planned for the monuments, and the monuments planned for the building which contains them. We here *see sculpture in its true position, the handmaid waiting on the mistress, connected with and ancillary to architecture.* That such is the real bearing of sculpture may be tried by a very easy test; did ever any statue produce a good effect without a background, or at least some edifice near which it is placed, or out of which it arises?"*

This Sagrestia affords the most perfect specimen of Michael Angelo's skill as a sculptor, while the building is equally his; and what a gigantic intellect he possessed! Painting, sculpture, architecture, fortification, theology, and poetry, employed by turns his universal genius: nature is sparing of such prodigies.

Mr. Spalding writes :—

"The tombs of the two Medici, finished earlier than the Moses, are works of a far higher and purer strain; being really the finest that Michael Angelo ever produced. Upon each of the two sarcophagi rests a sitting figure in armour, the likeness of the dead man who reposes within.† On each

* Quarterly Review, 1840. Article — "The Fine Arts of Florence."

† The custom of representing the figure of the dead man on the outside of the sarcophagus or stone coffin, was familiar to the Etrurians, several examples of which are to be seen in the museum of the Cavaliere Campana, in Rome.

side of Lorenzo is a reclining statue, the one representing Twilight, the other Dawn; and Julian's tomb is in like manner flanked by the recumbent figures of Night and Day. The statue of Lorenzo is a fine and simple portrait; that of Julian has scarcely ever been surpassed for its air of dignified and thoughtful repose. The Dawn is a majestic female: unfinished, but fine,—a bold male form; the Night is a drooping, slumbering, sad looking female."

The architecture of this building is singularly adapted for the reception of these master-pieces of sculpture. In the church of Santa Croce may be seen convincing proofs of the decay of sculpture, in the monuments of Alfieri, Dante, Macchiavelli, and Galileo; but these men require not the aid of "storied urn or animated bust" to preserve their memory.

"In Santa Croce's holy precincts lie
Ashes which make it holier, dust which is,
Even in itself, an immortality,
Though there were nothing save the past and this,
The particle of those sublimities
Which have relapsed to chaos; here repose
Angelo's, Alfieri's bones, and his,
The starry Galileo, with his woes;
Here Macchiavelli's earth returned to whence it rose.
These are four minds which, like the elements,
Might furnish forth creation."

As to the curious arts, the bronze gates of the Baptistery will rivet the attention of the beholder—the world cannot equal them. The southern gate represents the history of John the Baptist; the reliefs of the northern one, events from the Gospels; those of the eastern, which Michael Angelo pronounced worthy to be the gate of Paradise, portray scenes from the Old Testament, on a ground composed of ten large panels

divided by richly ornamented borders. On the first panel, which is perhaps the best, the Creation of Adam stands at one side; the Creation of Eve, whose figure is one of the loveliest ever imagined, occupies the centre; the Temptation lies in the distance, and the piece also contains the Expulsion from Eden, perfect in taste and feeling. The History of Joseph is little inferior; that of David's Victory over the Philistine is singularly animated; and the History of Abraham presents some beautiful groups. The artist is said to have been twenty years employed in the design and execution of this work. In republican Florence one pursuit created another, "excellence produced excellence, and ambition and rivalsnip begot talent."

What were the causes which made the Florentines excel in painting and sculpture? This has been better answered in a masterly article in the "Quarterly," already quoted, than in any work I have met with.

"We (the critic writes) must now revert to the lessons which Florentine art opens to our consideration. In these there is much of practical application, not merely with respect to actual product, whether painting or statuary, the design, the colour, and the form; but to that question much agitated both here and on the continent, of diffusing the love and knowledge of the imitative arts as a portion of the education of the people. Academies for the cultivation of the higher branches of art have long existed—schools of design have been instituted for the lower orders—and it has been considered that the fine arts should be rendered an element of national education in the widest sense of the term. Most beneficial would it be indeed to us, if, in our artificial, convulsed, and overburthened state of society, any means could be formed of giving useful and healthful cultivation to a

people, who, self applauding, are rapidly losing in their supposed advance, all the qualities by which the wealth of nations is bestowed. But where is the real art, except when *it bears the impress of the artist's mind;* and it is certain that whenever any of the three sister arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, have become *poetical* in the true sense of the term, they have been, like all true poetry, *the result of the feelings of the people,* not their cause; manifestations of the pre-existing mind and temper of the community; interpretations of the sentiment of the age, and not its pedagogues. The fine arts have ever been the *consequences* of the teaching of the intellect, never of the teachers. Necessity is the mother of invention, and the fine arts, whenever they have truly attained excellence, have, to use a familiar expression, *followed the lead* of society, rather than acted as a promoting cause. They have existed because the human intellect demanded these high and transcendent sources of enjoyment; it was the speaking forth of the fulness of the heart; and if we advert to the process by which art has been evolved in the period of bright youth, and nourished in vigorous adolescence, we shall find that the development was effected under circumstances differing as widely from those by which it is now attempted to be artificially fostered, as the growth of the vine waving between the elm and olive on the sunny height of Montepulciano, does from that of the same plant trained beneath the panes of glass, and flourishing merely by constant care; proving how much can be effected by money and labour, but ministering merely to luxury, and giving in the stove-heated grapery no one pleasure to the heart."

It also appears, that it was not in the Academy Tuscan artists nurtured their genius, but in the workshops; they were really artificers, and worked at their trades vigorously. Churches, houses, and furniture,

were, as a matter of business, painted, and subjects for these decorations were taken from religion or romance. It is very curious, but yet alleged as true, that all the easel pictures of the old masters have been detached from articles of ecclesiastical or civil furniture, and it is doubtful whether, before the sixteenth century, any cabinet pictures, intended merely to hang upon the walls as ornaments, existed. "It was the *use* of pictures which gave strength and nutrition to art; painting was in this stage, therefore, always *utilitised*," and thus was its success natural, and not the result of artificial means or occasional patronage, because in accordance with the feeling of the people. I have remarked, when we inquire from the artist the causes of the decay of the art of painting in Italy, he fails to satisfy our understanding. Walk with such a man through the galleries of Rome, Florence, or Bologna, he will speak learnedly and well on the merits of particular pictures, expatiate with rapture on the sublimity of Michael Angelo, the magic beauty of Raffaelle, the brilliant colouring of Titian, the bewitching gracefulness of Coreggio, and the peculiar perfections of the Caracci, and of the great names connected with their school, immortal in the history of his art. But ask him *why* have these men, in their way, so excelled, and *why* have their successors fallen so short of their greatness, and the artist will assign any cause but the true one. He has not studied the general history of Italy, marked the various stages in the progress of the human mind, the causes which developed or checked its powers, the effect of the predominating spirit of the age on other and kindred pursuits, the connection of art with the whole condition of society, and the influences by which it may have been affected.

The historian can better solve these interesting questions; he discerns and explains the causes of failure, and of excellence in art, at particular epochs, on principles not apprehended by the mere artist, who naturally studies pictures more than history. Raffaelle died in Rome, on Good Friday, 1520; Michael Angelo outlived him more than forty years; what was the condition of the art they raised to such a pitch of glory, after their decease? Ranke, the historian, in his profound work, has described it vigorously.

"Art shared the fate of poetry; she lost the inspiration which had suggested her religious subjects, and, soon after, that which had animated her profane works. Some traces of it remained in the Venetian school alone. Raffaelle's scholars, with one exception, were wholly degenerate; while they endeavoured to imitate him, they lost themselves in artificial beauty, theatrical attitudes, affected graces; and their works bear sufficient evidence of the total want of warmth, or sense of beauty, in the soul which conceived them. The scholars of Michael Angelo did no better. Art had lost all comprehension of her objects; she had discarded the ideas she had formerly taxed all her powers to clothe with form; she retained nothing but the externals of method. In this state of things, when antiquity was deserted, when at the same time the old national poetry and the religious mode of conception were scorned and rejected by literature and by art, *the resuscitation of the Church began.* It gained possession of men's minds, with their will, or against it; it introduced an entire alteration in the whole domain and condition of art and literature."

The intellectual tendency of the age of Pope Sixtus V., who ascended the papal throne in 1585, had, on this question, a most important influence. The

Church, after a long and violent struggle and the loss of many kingdoms, established, by astonishing energy and fearful persecutions, her complete supremacy over Italy. The restoration of the authority of the Infallible Church, it is curious to observe, acted very differently on science and on art; it repressed the progress of the one, and advanced the other, but in a peculiar way, and in a limited direction.

"A short time before (saith Professor Ranke) the Italians manifested a grand tendency towards searching investigation, intrepid pursuits of truth, noble aspirations, and high prophetic visions of discovery, who shall say whither this tendency would have led? But the Church marked out a line which they were not to overstep, *and woe to him who ventured to pass it.*"

However, while the Church stopped the advance of science, it had a contrary effect on poetry and art.

"They stood in need of a prolific material, of a living subject, and they found it once more in the Church."

As to poetry, Tasso affords a striking example of the power which the regeneration of religious feeling had acquired over the minds of men.

At Bologna, not far from Farrara, where Tasso composed his poem, arose the school of Caracci,* whose rise

* *Bolognese School.—Francesco Franci*, a famous old master, his pictures in the gallery of Bologna are highly prized.

The *Caracci* and their pupils: *Ludovico Caracci*, born 1555, died 1619, nicknamed *the ox;* Agostino Caracci, *the goldsmith;* Annibale, *the tailor.*" The goldsmith was the most learned; they are not considered great as colourists, but approached the sublime in conception and execution. They closed the period of the golden age of Italian painting. Their pupils had scarcely less

marks a general change in the style of painting. Ludovico Caracci was the founder of this school; and of his two cousins whom he associated with him in his labours, one had been bred a goldsmith, (the same trade which had furnished many artists in Florence,) the other a tailor. These men cultivated the study of anatomy, and a learned style of art. Theirs was named the *eclectic* school, and their proposed object was, to select from the respective works of former distinguished painters the peculiar excellency of each, and combine all these beauties in their own productions. In fact, they would unite in the same artist whatever was admirable in the various schools of painting which had previously subsisted throughout Italy. The mere statement of the principle on which the *Caracci* established their system of art, is enough to shew it was not likely to be lasting, because not natural, not imaginative, but confessedly imitating the excellences of other masters; and although at a particular period, and in the hands of clever men, this style might attain great success, yet it is not difficult to suppose it would ere long sink into insignificance and decay.* But the historian properly observes, the material inquiry is, what were the tasks they imposed

grandeur or solidity of art. *Domenichino, Albani, Guido* (the greatest genius of the school, but unequal); Rome is rich in his best pictures. *Guercino* painted with amazing rapidity; Rome also possesses some of his choicest productions.

Lanfranco. His work on the cupola at St. Andrea della Valle, in Rome, forms an epoch in the art. This school, having accomplished so much, wholly fell away, and with it the fame of Italy in painting.

* Refer to Bacon's "Essay on Beauty," and Sir Joshua Reynold's third discourse on the nature of this eclectic school. The artist evidently mistakes the meaning of the philosopher, in using the words "*by a kind of felicity.*"

on themselves, and what the spirit in which they were accomplished? The tasks were, according to the spirit of the age, chiefly of a religious character. Ludovico Caracci labours to embody the ideal of Christ, and produces a representation which has been the model to succeeding painters. The master-piece of Agostino Caracci is unquestionably his Saint Jerome. The aged saint is represented in the arms of death, motionless; his last breath is a fervent aspiration after the host, which the ministering priest is bringing to him. Annibale Caracci's pictures are of the same character; but his representation of the Christ, the critics say, is elevated to a higher pitch of sublimity. Now these painters were filled and animated by their subject: the scenes they exhibited affected their minds; they partook in fact of the religious enthusiasm of the age. The same tendency marks their pupils. Domenichino worked out the ideal of St. Jerome, of which Agostino Caracci was the author, with such felicitous industry that he surpassed his master. This magnificent work stands in the Vatican, opposite the sublime picture of the Transfiguration by Raffaëlle, and is not outshone wholly in the contrast. Guido Reni painted the Virgin "glowing in immortal beauty," as he draws monks attenuated with ascetic practices. His Judith, taken in the very feeling of the deed she has accomplished, is in a style of severe grandeur. "Who does not immediately recognize his ecstatic Madonna almost dissolved in rapture." It is charged against these painters that their conceptions were sometimes fantastic and incongruous, that they seemed to relish depicting the horrible without any attempt to soften its repulsive aspect. In the St. Agnes of Domenichino we see the blood start from beneath the sword. Guido conceived

the Murder of the Innocents in its naked atrocity and terror; the women have all their mouths open screaming, while the savage soldiers are in the act of butchering the defenceless infants. Guercino, another illustrious pupil of this school, depicts St. John with an expression of gloomy inspiration; his St. Thomas lays his hand with so rude a touch in the wounds in the side of Christ, that we shrink back with a feeling of pain. That the bounds of art may have been sometimes overpassed is not so important to our present inquiry, as the fact, that the Church obtained entire dominion over restored painting, and imparted to it an "ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and dogmatical character."

I have given a summary of the view taken by the able German Professor, and I have no doubt the right view of the character of the last great school of Italian painting, and of the intellectual tendency of the age in which it flourished. The pupils of the Caracci already named, with Albani and Lanfranco, maintained the high reputation of this school for some forty years after the decease of their illustrious masters, and filled Italy with their fame; then it fell, partly because its principles were eclectic and artificial, chiefly because no longer sustained by the spirit of the age: when in accordance with the feelings of the age it prospered; when it ceased so to be, it withered. The Church of Rome lost its influence over the minds of artists and people; to religious enthusiasm succeeded religious indifference, the causes which led to the rise and progress of this celebrated school of art ceased to exist, and naturally and inevitably the effect to be produced.

I have thus endeavoured to explain *why* the art of painting flourished at one epoch in Italy and failed at another, connecting its success in one case with the

habits of the people; in the other, with the intellectual tendency and religious enthusiasm of the age. These causes ceasing to operate, the effect ceased to follow.

The Italian painters of the present day are mere copyists or mannerists, not artists: they are immeasurably below Englishmen. The exhibition of modern art in Milan last October was wretched. I fled for consolation to the glorious fresco of the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci.

I can scarcely believe poetry or painting could flourish under the Austrian sway; that government possesses admirable police talents, but crushes by its firm despotism the genius from which alone works of the imagination can spring. Italian art may revive with the freedom of Italy.

Why did the ancients excel in sculpture? and were they acquainted with the science of anatomy; the understanding of the principles of which is said to be essential to the success of the sculptor? It would seem not. John Bell asserts there is no evidence of it in their works; and that Hippocrates spent his time in idle prognostics, and dissecting apes to discover the seat of the bile. Their manner of disposing of the body after death, would seem to be against the notion of the ancients being acquainted with anatomy; because, after death, the body was burned, and the funeral urn contained its ashes. It appears, various instruments of surgery have been found amongst the objects which turned up in different excavations, as well as in those of Pompeii and Herculaneum, yet nothing to shew a study of the science of anatomy. But records were kept of the perfections of the human body, and statues were formed of the victors in the Olympic games, to serve as models of strength and beauty. The prodigious energy

called into action in such a community as that of Athens, coupled with the high enthusiasm of the people, must have made them excel in whatever they attempted; and materials to stimulate the sculptor were to be found in the manners, costume, mythology, and athletic exercises of the Greeks. Every ceremony or religious observance or festival or celebration of Olympic games, gave to the artist living models for his instruction.

"The advantages (says John Bell) possessed by the Greek artists were not confined to the nude figure alone; their beautiful living models presented continually to their view a simple, flowing, and ever-varying drapery. A vigorous, fine made Greek, whichever way he cast his cloak, whether carelessly as Socrates, or gracefully as Alcibiades, gave a new cast to the figure, presenting the elegant bendings of youth, or the more noble forms of manhood."

The Greeks had a passion for this art, yet in their boldest conceptions were true to nature. The modern sculptor, who has only anatomy for his teacher, it is obvious possesses advantages immeasurably inferior to those enjoyed by the Greek artist, a frequent spectator of the games of the circus. Anatomy is but the cold substitute for the constant view of the living body in all the animating varieties of athletic exercise and manly beauty. The causes of the success of the ancients in sculpture, it is not therefore difficult to discover.

One great cause of the deterioration of modern art has not been sufficiently considered, and that was and is, the separation of sculpture from architecture.

The critic of the "Quarterly" observes—

"The first object of its interest and application was lost, and, instead of being a significant and living art, sculpture dwindled into the mere minister to the desires of the eye.

The finest statue carved only to serve as a decoration *is nothing else than a chimney-piece ornament on a larger scale.*"

These remarks seem perfectly well founded, when we examine, for example, the Pantheon in Rome, and read the descriptions of it as it stood in all its splendour in the time of Agrippa. The interior was adorned by the statues of famous men, a principal object of the building being to contain such memorials, and place them worthily. This glorious relic of antiquity proves the union of sculpture with architecture to have existed to the advantage of both; the niches in the Pantheon still remain, the statues are gone, and the venerable pile, although still majestic, seems bare, and stripped of half its beauty. By the severance of this union one great object of sculpture was lost, and therefore the art declined, so when the causes which led to the excellence of the Greeks ceased to operate, and heathenism, with its false gods was supplanted by the religion of the gospel, this art of sculpture, no longer so necessary nor so cultivated, sunk into insignificance.

"Look but once at the monuments of Alfieri and of Dante in Santa Croce, and you will feel that Italian art is as empty as the cenotaph, and as dead as the bones and ashes in the sepulchre."

Notwithstanding this last observation of the reviewer, I must observe the downfal of Italian sculpture has not been so great as that of painting. Canova redeemed it for a time, but his individual genius only the more clearly proves the general decay of art. I do not myself believe Canova will maintain his fame, he has been over praised. Take the most vigorous effort of his chisel now, and compare it with the Greek statues in the

Capitol or Vatican, and then discover, if you can, the pretensions of Canova to be classed with the best of ancient sculptors. The wonder and delight with which the relics of antiquity are beheld, prove how vast the disparity between modern and ancient art; singular enough, the recovery and the study of the Greek models, so inspiring to behold, have in a measure damaged modern art. The sculptor of our day strives to excel by *imitating* the works of the ancients, whereas they triumphed by the originality of their inventions, by exhibiting in glorious perfection the forms of nature; nor must we expect to have repeated the exquisite bronze works, of which such specimens are to be seen in Florence, the hammer grasped by the human hand could alone work out such marvels, almost equal to the truth and variety of nature itself. Machinery has destroyed all this, and given us in lieu of such wonders of art the "Brummagem article," and nothing more. But we must be content to accept the steam-engine, as some small compensation for the injury done to the imaginative faculties of the mind, and the curious works of the hand.

Do art-unions and engravings foster *art* or *artists*? A kind of art no doubt, but of an inferior species. The great things in science as well as art have been accomplished by individual genius. The schools which flourished at different epochs in Italy were wholly different from these cliques of modern amateurs; they were associations of men for learning and teaching the high principles of the art; these clubs exist for the encouragement and sale of pictures, good, bad, and indifferent, belonging to any school or no school. That it may be well for a middling painter to sell his feeble pictures is true, but it is a mere delusion in the public

mind to suppose thereby that genuine art is encouraged or fostered. Able writers and critics insist that academies for the encouragement of painting are rather prejudicial than serviceable to art. The best thing which can be said for the practice of getting up art-unions, their annual show and engraving, is, that where we cannot have the genuine thing, the *Brummagem* article is better than nothing. Two Italian critics of celebrity have declared engravings to be most injurious to art—Cicognara and Lanzi; the former insists that these engravings, although they spread widely a knowledge of famous compositions, are destructive to invention. It seems to me these opinions are well founded; a folly it is to believe that every thing, even in matters of taste, can be effected by clubs and associations: very often through their means shallow men* gain an undeserved reputation.

I have put together the above observations on the fine arts, so called, in the hope of encouraging in the minds of visitors to these scenes "*where Raffaelle and his school from Florence came,*" reflections on the causes and principles which have made the fine arts flourish and decay. Let us not exalt these pursuits too highly.† What are pictures and statues at best but the playthings of life, too often, as here in Florence in former times, provided by the guilty and ambitious

* Sir J. Reynolds, in his "Fifth Discourse," declares, while our exhibitions nourish emulation, they have also a mischievous tendency, by seducing the painter to an ambition of pleasing, indiscriminately, the mixed multitude of people who resort to them.

† I think Mr. Roscoe's elegantly written Biographies of the Medici, in the hands of every traveller, open to this objection, and to the more serious one of misrepresenting the character of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The history of this family is so inter-

tyrant as useful toys to occupy the time, mislead the understanding, and corrupt the senses of the people whom he would enslave? Henceforward let me willingly turn to the consideration of the institutions, religion, customs, laws, and history of this ancient kingdom. Possibly something may be gleaned from the inquiry beyond mere entertainment, profitable, and applicable to ourselves, and our beloved country.

woven with everything we see or read in Florence, that some investigation of their history is indispensable; it may teach us to estimate rightly the value of the collections in the Florentine museums, when we know at what a price they have been purchased.

CHAPTER III.

TUSCANY.

Foreigners in Florence.—Effect of their Residence on the People.—Azeglio's Opinion.—Reflections.—Real Condition of Florentine People, and their Sources of Industry investigated.—Classification of Inhabitants.—No Middle Class.—Mode of Living, of Burial, and Amusements of the People.—Madame de Stael's Description of the Florentines.

THE number of foreigners who visit or reside in this pleasant little capital forcibly attracts our notice. The respectable population, so far as it may consist of the middle classes, does not appear to be native to the soil. Carriages crowd the streets and the cascine, but they are filled by strangers,—the English, of course, in the majority.

Their new church is capable of containing about 800 persons; and the congregation ordinarily amounted to that number. They feign excuses readily for their residence abroad: Scotland is cold,—country parts of England dull,—Ireland disturbed,—where can be found an equal amount of enjoyment, more luxuries at a cheap rate than in lovely Florence? Then the Grand Duke is so gracious, gives balls, and invites English people, whom Her Majesty would never notice in aristocratic England. The effect of permanent residence abroad on people governed by such motives, and won by such small distinctions, can be well conceived. Perhaps England sustains no loss by their absence, still it is painful

to meet in Florence so large a British population in vigorous health studiously forgetful of home and its duties.

The number of strangers who visit Florence annually may amount to upwards of 11,000,—permanent residents to about 900. It may be an interesting inquiry, what is the effect of this influx of strangers upon the native population.

A distinction would suggest itself between the intercourse of the respectable inhabitants of proud, free, and wealthy kingdoms, such as Great Britain and France, and the people of either of these countries with a small country like Tuscany, and especially with such a capital as Florence. Great nations meet each other upon an equal footing, they are unspoiled by the freest intercourse, no abasement of national character takes place. Neither truckles to the other. But when people free and wealthy flock into a small city like Florence, destitute of wealth or freedom, the danger is obvious that the natives will succumb to the whims of their visitors, imitate their vices, but not their virtues, yield to the temptation of cheating the ignorant or the careless traveller, grow false, deceitful, mean and contemptible.

Thus the national character may be demoralized and degraded. Azeglio has expressed this opinion in language which I cannot translate:—

"Le orme impresse sul suolo di Firenze dai suoi antichi abitatori la civiltà moderna le ha cancellate quasi del tutto. Le hanno cancellate gli stranieri che ogni anno scendono agodersi e vilipendere, quasi conrigiana, l'Italia."

Professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, who has written a most useful work on the condition of Italy, expresses the same opinion. He writes (p. 112, of the translation into Italian):—

"Accurate investigations enable us to ascertain that the increase of foreigners in some Tuscan cities, especially in Florence, is not serviceable to morality, and multiplies a class of persons, who, living only by the gains of the moment, without any respectable calling, yield to dissoluteness, often aggravated by foreigners, as these persons calculate on their profusion, and lay hands when occasion offers on the property of others."

The class of Italians who ordinarily come in contact with travellers are corrupted; wronged and insulted, as they have been, they revenge themselves on the inhabitants of the rest of Europe who may visit their country, the natural though deplorable result of the worst description of slavery. Thus the influx of foreigners into Florence, which seems at first view to be a blessing, may in reality prove a curse. This leads to a brief inquiry into the true condition of the Florentine people.

The outward aspect is deceptive, especially in a population prone to show, and vain of finery. What are the means which the people appear to have of gaining their bread in Florence, I mean of real, solid, or national industry? The trade of a general kind, and commerce are chiefly confined to Leghorn. I scarcely ever saw at Florence a boat on the Arno. There are no great manufactories, except in silk; no extensive buildings in progress: in fact, the town and its delightful neighbourhood are overbuilt. There is considerable business in oil and silk.

The summary given by Mittermaier of the manufactories of Tuscany, states, that there are through Tuscany ninety-three manufactories of paper,—yielding a produce of 2,000,000 *lire* (the *lire* being about eightpence). In Prato there are 4469 workmen, of

whom 2800 are engaged in weaving silk. There are in the duchy 3462 silk looms. The establishment of Mattinci, in Florence, reckons 800. This is the largest in Tuscany. The gross produce in silk is said to be but 300,000 lb., while Austrian Italy and Ticino produces 7,000,000 lb. Making straw-bonnets yields 2,000,000 of *lire*. There are 100 manufactories of wool, *of which only eleven are flourishing*. Latterly an immense quantity of Boracic acid has been exported from the Maremma. Their export of oil is but 80,000*l*. per annum. The imports at Leghorn are double the exports. The gross value of Tuscan merchandize engaged in commerce is valued at no more than 5,000,000 *lire*. Tuscany never can feed its people with corn. This supply is short by one fourth. No Florentine of the present day will be likely to emulate the freak of Lucca Pitti, and raise a palace to commemorate a worthless name.

The shops in Florence look well, but it is generally remarked, and by the fair sex especially, that the articles for sale are the products of England and France. I was convinced of this fact. The goldsmiths are ingenious, and not extravagant in their demands. The industry of the Florentines is frivolous, quite of a different character from that of the Tuscan agriculturists, which is skilful, steady, and persevering. I verily believe a principal source of employment for the small dealers here is, the renting of an apartment consisting of four or five chambers, furnishing the same, often by the aid of borrowed money, and then hiring it as required to the foreigner. As the hotels are expensive, being spoiled by the English, a family residing even for a month takes an apartment,—generally this belongs, in the way I have stated, to an Italian. He will act

occasionally as *valet de place*, his wife in some other capacity, and so make out a respectable livelihood.

Abstract from Florence foreign artists, strangers, players, hotel-keepers, and withdraw the supplies they furnish, and I know not how a large part of the population in Florence could exist. A war, which stopped the influx of strangers into this attractive place, would be fatal to its fictitious prosperity. I have been assured there is a great deal of poverty in Florence, although it may not often meet the eye. Begging is interdicted in the streets, but prevails in the suburbs; of the fact that much misery exists, from reasons subsequently mentioned, in addition to what old residents have informed me, I am satisfied.

But the wants of the humble Florentine are cheaply supplied; his diet is simple, his habitation confined and cheerless, his expenses less perhaps than in most European cities, and his comforts as few. His real enjoyments are all out of doors, for which reason, and for lack of anything to do at home, or attraction to remain there, all classes of Florentines fill the streets. In the Piazze, especially near the Post-office, are crowds: those who get letters read them in the streets, and then stop to chat and gaze about. In the evening they lounge to the *cascine*, and so consume their day.* There was a joyful excitement last summer, when a spirited speculator established an omnibus to convey

* "Rispetto alla vita esteriore dell' Italiano esser non può disconosciuta una qualità peculiare del suo carattere, l'amore allo starsene fuori in pubblico. Non vi è dubbio che ciò dipenda dalla natura del clima Italiano. La comoda vita all' aperto, le attrattive della natura, all quali è molto l'Italiano a passare all' aperto buona parte del giorno, a visitare i pubblici luoghi e a partecipare alle feste."

the delighted Florentines from their beautiful city to their beautiful park.

According to our conception of the term, there does not exist in Florence any middle class. I have made the acquaintance of an intelligent well educated Tuscan priest, from whom I glean much information; he is sensible, and what would be termed liberal, a good linguist, and converses freely. He says there are sixteen high families in Florence and no more; and that no substantial class exists between them and the people who work for their bread. There are, independently of the English, Russian, Polish, French, and Italian families of distinction, who for one reason or other, sometimes political, reside here, and swell the number of the titled and somewhat questionable aristocracy. The heterogeneous condition of society may be readily comprehended from the above mentioned facts. There is a very large middle class in Florence, but consisting entirely of strangers of all nations, who meet here as upon common ground. This is not a natural or healthy state of things for the native population, and there is no certain prospect of any change for the better. Mercantile, literary, professional, or political men have little business in Florence. I cannot say the people are, in my judgment, highly civilized, because they are not decent; it is disagreeable for a lady of delicacy to walk in the streets of Florence.

The police regulations in respect of cleanliness are not good, the lanes and by-streets abominably filthy.

In severe weather the humbler classes suffer from want of fire, comfortless dwellings, and other privations, and the mortality amongst them is at such periods very great.

Their mode of disposing of their dead amongst the

poor is somewhat repulsive. In the evening the bodies are conveyed by torch light to a church, attended by monks chanting a dirge, there the remains are deposited, and the friends depart and see no more of the matter. During the night a cart arrives, the bodies are placed in it, and either, as suspected, reserved for dissection, or, as the Americans say, *dumped* from the cart into a common pit outside the town.

The Florentines are passionately fond of theatrical exhibitions, and there are operatic performances to which admittance may be had for three pence of our money, sufficiently entertaining for the bulk of the people. They have a law, that whatever is publicly promised must be performed, as the public are not to be deceived. Mr. Addison, who travelled in Italy a century and a half since, says he had the good luck to be at Florence when an opera was acted. The solemn protestation of the author, in the first page of the play as printed, entertained our poet; the author declared he believed not in the fates, deities, or destinies, and made use of the words purely out of a poetical liberty, and not from his real sentiments:—"*Credendo sempre in tutto quello, che crede e comanda santa madre chiesa;*" and so would the bulk of the Florentine people, players and spectators, say in our own time.

On their festival days in spring and early summer, this light-hearted people put forth all their finery; women, even of an humble rank, are decked with valuable gold ornaments which descend from mother to daughter as heir looms, and expending their small savings in show, make a gay figure in the *cascine*, the churches, and the theatres. Seated beneath the trees in their pleasant park, the Florentines feast and enjoy themselves on these commemorations from morn till

evening, presenting the appearance of the most prosperous population in the world. They are here seen to the utmost advantage, and certainly their behaviour to each other and to strangers is marked by courtesy and easy unaffected politeness.

When dressed out it is difficult to distinguish the artisan from the gentleman. The Florentines exhibit the smooth manners of a people long accustomed to civilization, and the humanizing effects of the elegant arts. Madame de Stael has happily observed of these people :—

" C'est une jouissance véritable que d'entendre les Toscans; de la classe même la plus inferieure ; leurs expressions pleins d'imagination et d'élégance, donnent l'idée du plaisir qu'on devait goûter dans la ville d'Athènes, quand le peuple parlait le Grec harmonieux, qui était comme une musique continuelle. C'est une sensation très-singulière de se croire au milieu d'une nation dont tous les individus seraient également cultivés, et paraîtraient tous de la classe superieure, c'est du moins l'illusion que fait, pour quelques moments, la pureté du langage."

CHAPTER IV.

TUSCANY.

Domestic Servants in Italy. — Murray's Hand-book. — Law of Evidence. — Written Contracts and Administration of Civil Justice in Tuscany. — Practical Result. — Character of, and Dealings with the People. — Tribunals of Justice described. — Salaries of the Judges. — Reflections.

SCARCELY any man has resided a year in Italy without being compelled to form a low opinion of the morals and character of the domestic servants, in contact with whom he is necessarily thrown. They are generally courteous but rapacious, grasping and dishonest, in a way of which we can have small conception in England. The vexations to which the stranger is sometimes exposed, may be guessed at from the amusing description given by Mr. Cooper, the clever American writer, of his domestic trials in Tuscany. Deeming it necessary to put his simple countrymen on their guard, and to let them understand the nature of European intrigues; he narrates a series of plots and counterplots entered into by the Italian servants, and their audacious impostures systematically practised on his family during many months. Now these things were done, not through any particular ill will towards Mr. Cooper, but merely in the way of business. The knavish footman, sketched graphically by the novelist, only followed his craft, in cheating his master of about 200 francesconi beyond his wages.

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"When he obtained his discharge he actually had the audacity (adds the indignant republican) to chase my little son with a carving-knife, threatening to cut his throat. He was paid his wages regularly every month, and towards the close of the time, half-monthly at his own request, an expedient to prevent stoppages, as I subsequently found, on account of his frauds, and I owed him a dollar when he was sent away. This he refused, claiming ten; and before the cause was decided by the tribunals, he claimed *his entire wages for the whole nine months,* affirming I had paid him nothing! In other respects he proved a thorough villain."

The following observations of Mr. Cooper upon the above narrative of facts, are sensible and just.

"I do not tell you this as a specimen of Italian or Tuscan character, but as a proof of the impositions to which strangers are liable. After an experience of nine months, I am disposed to think well of the Italians, who seem a kind, and who certainly are a clever people, but the great throng of strangers in these towns loosens the ordinary social ties, by releasing the evil disposed from many of the usual responsibilities. It may be taken as a general rule, I think, that travellers, unless greatly favoured by circumstances, *see the worst portion of every country.* The better classes, and the well-disposed, waiting to be sought, while those of the opposite character must seek acquaintances and connections where they are least known, and where it easiest to practice their deceptions."

Although the above remark of Mr. Cooper be kindly expressed, yet surely the moral depravity of a large class of people in Italy tells against the general character of the country. We may say, without impropriety, Italy is below Germany, France, and Belgium, in honesty and morality of conduct. This amusing description of the domestic trials of the American

novelist is by no means uncommon. I have heard a variety of entertaining anecdotes of the same description. The discharged servant generally revenges himself thus:—after he has been paid all wages, *without giving a written receipt*, on the eve of his master's departure from Florence, when he applies for the necessary passport, an embargo is found to be put upon it by the servant, upon the ground that his claims have not been satisfied. Sometimes the stranger, to save time and escape vexation, submits to the extortion, and thus whets the appetite of the knave for future imposition. Should he partake the courage of the republican traveller, consult his banker, employ a lawyer, to try his cause, singularly lucky will he be if a decision be given in his favour, but the miscreant may and will most probably appeal; meanwhile the passport is withheld, and the impatient traveller has the pleasure of being delayed three months or so till the appeal is finally decided. Englishmen constantly forget to take written receipts from their servants and others, and suffer for their omission. No man here places the least dependence on the honesty of those of the lower classes with whom he deals. Everything is reduced to writing; a carriage for a two-days' excursion, hired by a formal written contract; a lodging for a month, by an agreement consisting of two parts, some dozen clauses, and duly signed—very different the practice of Cheltenham and Clifton. If you omit these precautions, you are scoffed at for your folly, they say you deserve to suffer, you should consider every man as a rogue.

In Murray's "Hand-book for Northern Italy," is contained the following amusing, but not accurate statement of the law in Florence.

"By the law of Tuscany every servant engaged at yearly wages is entitled to six months' notice to quit, or to six months' wages, the better way is to engage by the month with a written agreement, stating that you are entitled to discharge at a fortnight's notice. Any foreign servant brought by a stranger into Tuscany, and discharged by him there, however bad his conduct may have been, can, upon applying to the tribunal, compel the master to pay his full coach fare, and expenses back to his own country, unless the employer have *a written agreement* signed by the servant to the contrary. Families intending to winter in Florence, generally engage a cook at a stipulated price per month to furnish everything required for the house, but in this case, it is necessary for the master to *advertise* in the "Gazette di Firenze," giving his name and residence, and stating that his servants have orders to pay for everything in ready money, and that he will not be accountable for any debts they may contract in his name; failing to do this, the cook will probably pocket the whole of the money paid him for housekeeping, and the master will be compelled to repay all the tradesmen's bills. It is also necessary to be extremely particular to take a written receipt for any weekly or monthly payment made to the cook, as in default of this he will, probably, on the eve of the departure of the family, go into court, and swear that he has been supplying the house on credit during his master's whole stay, and although his master may have been in the habit of paying him every week *in the presence of members of his own family, and of other servants, still as by the Tuscan law the evidences of neither relations nor servants is allowed to be given in the master's favour*, and as his own oath is not taken, the stranger will, after much delay, and law expenses be obliged to repay the whole."

I could not bring my understanding to believe in this statement of the law of evidence in a civilized

country in which the principles of the French code were adopted. Jeremy Bentham derided our law as it formerly existed, because, while the evidence of relatives was received, the evidence of witnesses having the smallest pecuniary interest in the result, was excluded. Tuscany, according to Murray's compilation, erred in the opposite direction. Another commonly alleged principle of Tuscan law, namely, that every contract should be reduced to writing, I could not either believe to exist. Yet I found this generally asserted in Florence as the law, and so acted on; and upon inquiry from commercial men and old residents, was informed they so understood the law to be, or that, at all events, it was very difficult to carry a cause in the courts of justice without a writing. The practice in all the affairs of life seemed to confirm this opinion.

Dissatisfied with what I heard, and anxious to ascertain exactly how these matters stood and gain accurate information, I consulted a Florentine advocate. The first question was in this form:—

"The courts in Tuscany, it is said, do not admit, on behalf of a foreigner, as witnesses, any of his household, relations, or servants; I desire to know whether this be the law of the country, and whether, if so, it equally prevails in disputes between Tuscans, as, for example, in proving a contract or payment, or the like."

Answer:—

"No law in Tuscany, either as regards foreigners or subjects, prohibits (in civil trials, in which the principles of the French code prevail) the reception of relations and servants as witnesses, to prove a bargain or a payment, or any other fact. It depends *exclusively* upon the discriminating judg-

ment of the court, to decide what weight shall be given to such evidence according to all the circumstances and the strength of the other proof existing in the case."

Second question:—

"Is it necessary, by any positive rule of law, that all contracts, for example, for the hire of a house or lodgings, should, for their validity, be in writing? and is there in this respect, any difference between foreigners and natives?"

Answer:—

"All contracts, amongst which are numbered those stated in the question, are perfected by the consent of the parties; *hence no writing is required for their validity;*—a writing is drawn up as proof only of the contract (here many authorities are cited); thus a contract may be proved by the facts and circumstances of the case—by legal proof—by probabilities, as if there existed a solemn deed.

"There are some exceptions of a few contracts in which a writing is required to the validity of the same,—for example, a contract of partnership, which must be in writing, and deposited in the tribunal of commerce, according to the principles of the French commercial code. These rules are acted on with respect to foreigners resident in Tuscany in the same manner precisely as towards Tuscans themselves."

This opinion is what I expected it to be,—distinct and satisfactory. How happens it, then, that a writing is so generally resorted to, and that witnesses, admissible, do not obtain the belief of the judge.

The answer seems to be, that as the judge acts also as a jury, although he is bound to receive the evidence of the parent, child, or relative, or servant, he does not choose to believe it, unless confirmed by other proofs or circumstances, consequently to escape this difficulty

created by the judge, the writing preferred by the court is in almost all the affairs of life resorted to by the community, and the want of it is generally fatal to the party who ought to have secured it.

Naturally, the opinion prevails in Florence amongst the unlearned, that it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to establish a contract in a payment in the tribunals without a writing. The judges are to blame for this pernicious result. I knew an instance in which an English gentleman, having paid his Italian domestic fully in presence of his fellow-servants, dismissed him, making an entry of the fact of the payment in his memorandum book, but omitting to secure a written receipt. The knave summoned his master before the tribunals for the recovery of the wages already paid; the judge received the evidence of the other servants, and decided the matter in favour of the master, chiefly on the ground of the entry in the memorandum book made by the master at the time, which the judge said shewed accuracy in the keeping of his accounts. This writing, which in our law would have been rejected, as being no evidence, for the man who made it, corroborated sufficiently, according to the Tuscan practice, the evidence of the other servant, and explains the mode in which the law is administered. The rascal, however, appealed, and the traveller was forced to compromise the case in order to get away from Florence.

Next, the mischievous system sanctioned by the law and usage of Tuscany and Rome, in relation to the emoluments of Italian domestics, deserves to be noticed. On all their master's purchases, in payment of all house bills, in fact, on every shilling he expends, the servant has his *commission*, more or less, as he can extort it. However tradesmen may groan, this imposition

they must submit to; resist they cannot; their remedy is to add to their charges in proportion as they are fleeced. This system of small plunder branches out into extensive ramifications. For example, a lady in Rome, who gained a livelihood by giving instruction in the Italian language, informed me she was once applied to by an Italian servant for money after the English family she taught, and in which the servant lived, had left Rome; the lady refused. Soon after the Italian domestic entered the service of another English family, who having been so recommended, sent this man to request her attendance for the purpose of giving instruction; the fellow returned, and, with gravity, informed his mistress the good lady was dead, and then dexterously introduced another teacher. Some time after the Italian lady and the English family met at the house of a common friend; the fraud was discovered, and the Italian lady was requested to call next day on the family who had wished her services, was then confronted with the knave who had reported her death, and he was instantly dismissed. But the poor lady assured me this taught her a lesson, and she bribes, through necessity, the Italian servants of every English family she teaches. It cannot be avoided,—the system of extortion is firmly established.

A friend of mine in Rome was rightily entertained by a visit from his *traiteur*, the person who supplies dinners, who begged to know whether *il signor* had an English servant with whom he could settle for the usual commission, as he really could not satisfy the Italian cormorant. So universal is this vile practice, that the servants of foreign ambassadors, nay even of royalty in Italy, the day after a reception by their masters, visit the guest, and extort at least a scudo from

each English family who had been entertained. This meanness is not practised by the domestics of the English ambassadors. The washerwoman of the family must wash for the Italian domestic gratis, the innkeeper must feed him gratis, the *traiteur* and all others must bribe him. This usage I have referred to of commission on bills paid is upheld by law. I really enjoyed the trial of a cause against one of the wisest of our English residents in Florence, so very knowing in all Tuscan customs, that he advises others how to behave and manage their establishment. Shortly before his departure for Rome a servant applied to be hired. The gentleman having mentioned his intention of leaving in a few days, the fellow expressed his anxiety to be employed for the intermediate time, accordingly *a written agreement was signed for this brief service.* The exact man of business was in good time on the eve of his departure summoned before the tribunal for non-payment of wages. He plumed himself on his cautious habits, produced his written agreement and receipt, and was on the very point of gaining his cause, when the judge asked the Florentine, had he no other claim against his master. The fellow coolly replied, "Now, I remember, *il signor* has paid many house-bills, and has more to pay, on which I have not had my allowance." The Englishman replied, "I was not summoned for this, but for non-payment of wages; I prefer paying my house-bills myself." The judge ruled the money should all pass through the hands of the domestic, so that he might secure his commission, to which, by usage, he was entitled. But as the Florentine had impeached his master for another and groundless demand, the judge gave him no costs. This judicial mode of proceeding has deeply injured the

character of the Tuscan people; they are tempted into shabby practices; mean frauds and artifices are encouraged; no one confides frankly in his fellow-men. The English merchant, who settles large transactions by a word, would here be obliged to write out and sign the smallest contract, if he wished to be safe from their tribunals: such suspicion is unbecoming a commercial or an honest people. Surely the old Florentine merchants, princes of the earth, were not of this paltry stamp. Extensive business could scarcely exist in a country where no faith is reposed by one man in another. Evils such as I have stated are caused, not by the theory of the law, which is good; but by the administration of it, which is uncertain and bad. The prevalence of these and other mischiefs led me to enquire into the salaries of the judges, some of these functionaries not being, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. From undoubted authority I am enabled to give the following particulars: The administration of civil justice in Tuscany is distributed according to the merits of the question, amongst first, Civil Judges, called *di circondario*, by the French stiled "Judges of Peace." Second, Tribunal *di prima istanza*, in the different cities of the duchy. Third, the Court Royal of Appeal in Florence. Fourth, for extraordinary cases, and as a last remedy in the case only of a sentence otherwise not appealable, to the Supreme Court of Cassation resident in Florence. The administration of ordinary criminal justice is entrusted to Judges *Direttori degli atti criminale*, to the same Tribunal *di prima istanza*, to the Court Royal, which decides, without appeal, in all cases within their cognizance, reserving to the condemned the extreme remedy of an appeal to the Court of Cassation. As to their remuneration, the

civic judges resident in Florence and Leghorn receive an annual salary* of 540 scudi (crowns). The *Auditori* of the tribunal of the first instance, as well in Florence as Leghorn, have an annual salary of 700 scudi. *I Consiglieri* of the Court Royal of Appeal have an annual provision of 900 scudi. The four vice-presidents of the same court have each 1,100 scudi; their president, 1,200 scudi. *I Consiglieri* of the Supreme Court of Cassation have a salary of 1,200 scudi, and their president 1,300 scudi. All the other civil and criminal judges and auditors of the first instance, resident in the different cities of the duchy, have lesser incomes than these very moderate salaries already mentioned. Distinguished men could scarcely be procured, one would think, on such cheap terms, and the natives of Italy have not yet learned to appreciate justice so highly as a statue or a picture, and although Tuscany is in this respect better circumstanced than perhaps any part of the peninsula, yet her condition is not enviable. The judicial history might not be an unattractive or unprofitable study; her efforts, when free to obtain a pure administration of justice, often failed through faction and domestic bitterness. The ascendant party sought not to do right, but ruin its adversaries. The Inquisition, down to the time Leopold exhibited its grim terrors, profaning religion and corrupting the secular tribunal of the country.

Then these polished tyrants, the Medici, who patronized art and enslaved their country, perverted the tribunals of justice into engines of oppression—and so did the tribunals exist, degraded and disgraced, till Leopold ascended the throne of Tuscany, and added

* This information I could not procure in any of the books of travels; a Florentine advocate furnished it to me.

to his fame as a statesman the higher glory of a reformer of the law, a wise lawgiver, a lover of justice; and although the administration of civil justice is not so satisfactory as it might be, the theory of criminal law, and I would hope, the practice also of the criminal tribunals, is pure, rational, wise, and humane, beyond what was ever known or witnessed when Florence was a free and splendid republic. I shall hereafter briefly consider the criminal justice and celebrated code of Tuscany.

CHAPTER V.

THE AGRICULTURE OF TUSCANY.

The Tenure of Land.— Mode of Farming.—Relation between Landlord and Tenant in Tuscany.—Agriculture of Italy in the Middle Ages.—Its Condition at the Present Day.—Tables of the Division of Landed Property in Tuscany.—Also of its Produce.—Comparison with the Agriculture of Germany, England, and France.—Opinions of Von Raumer and other Writers on the Tuscan System of Mezzadria.—Its Value considered.—Its Application to England or Ireland.—Suggestions in Reference to the last mentioned Country.

"Nihil agriculturâ melius."

To what is owing the great agricultural prosperity of this beautiful district of Italy? a question more interesting than any connected with the fine arts. Is it to the energy of the farmer, or the habits of skilful cultivation long prevalent in the country, and transmitted from father to son in a succession of ages? Or is it owing to the richness of the soil, or the excellence of the government, or lastly to the tenure by which the land is held, or to its division amongst the people who till with unrivalled industry its surface?

Let us inquire what quantity of land fit for cultivation there is in Tuscany, the description and quantity of produce it yields, and whether sufficient food for the people is found, the mode and success of the farming, the tenure and division of the land itself;

some useful inferences, on the whole, may result of value beyond the limits of Tuscany.

We have all the materials for the inquiry suggested. First, the condition in which the agriculture of Italy stood in the middle ages, when a large part of the United Kingdom was a barbarous waste, a short passage from Sismondi will sufficiently show.

"It is right to give a sketch of the general aspect of the country, particularly as the violent commotions which it experienced might give a false idea of its real state. This aspect was one of a prodigious prosperity, which contrasted so much the more with the rest of Europe, that nothing but poverty and barbarism were to be found elsewhere. The open country, designated by the name of *contrada*, appertaining to each city, was cultivated by an active and industrious race of peasants, enriched by their labour, and not fearing to display their wealth in their dress, their cattle, and their instruments of husbandry. The proprietors, inhabitants of towns, advanced their capital, shared the harvests, and alone paid the land-tax. They undertook the immense labour which has given so much fertility to the Italian soils, that of making dikes to preserve the plains from the inundations of the rivers, and of deriving from these rivers innumerable canals of irrigation. The Naviglio Grande of Milan, which spreads the clear waters of the Ticino over the finest part of Lombardy, was begun in 1179, resumed in 1257, and terminated a few years afterwards. Men who meditated, and who applied to the arts the fruits of their study, practised already that scientific agriculture of Lombardy and Tuscany which became a model to other nations; and at this day, after five centuries, the districts formerly free, and always cultivated with intelligence, are easily distinguished from those half-wild districts which had remained subject to the feudal lords."

Next, in what state is the agriculture of Tuscany at the present day? This inquiry may be quickly answered; in the highest perfection. The whole country is cultivated (so far as it is capable) as a beautiful garden. The lands at either side of the road from Cortona to Florence (some sixty miles) present a picture of cleanliness, skill, variety of tillage, comfort in the dwellings, and appearance of the people, not to be surpassed in any part of Europe. The vale of Arno is celebrated for the superiority of its tillage. I had never seen such an appearance of perfect cultivation; there is not a spot remaining of natural turf, nor a meadow left to its natural produce; every inch is planted or dressed by the hand of man; even the rivulets are changed into a thousand canals. There is a variety of vegetation, while the surface of the land is shaded by the leaves of the vine. The character of the landscape is wholly artificial. We shall now state how the land is employed, the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, and the net rent.

	Quadrati.	*Produce.*	*Net rent per quadrati.*
		M. Lires.	Lires.
Vine	644,000	12,239	·19
Vine and olive	462,000	7,195	15·57
Arable land	997,000	4,622	4·63
Wood of all kinds	1,661,000	2,971	1·79
Chestnuts	361,000	1,144	3·17
Natural and artificial meadows	79,000	865	10·83
Pasture	1,870,000	1,462	0·78
Various productions	73,000	604	
Buildings	28,000	13,232	
	6,180,000	44,339,000,	or about ten million dollars.

The quadrato contains more than our acre of land. This Table, drawn up by Von Raumer, shows, in an instructive manner, not only the space occupied by each branch of agriculture, but also its productions; and accounts for the disposition to extend the one and contract others, for instance, to turn woodland and pasture to other purposes. The country does not and cannot produce *corn sufficient for the wants of her inhabitants;* an additional supply is required, which is procured from Sicily, but chiefly from the Black sea. The grain is said to be insufficient by one fourth for the consumption of the inhabitants, and in 1832 corn to the amount of 560,000*l.* was imported. The people eat a great quantity of chestnuts, at one period roasted, and at another ground into some kind of bread stuff. Our next inquiry will be, What is the division of the landed property in a kingdom where agriculture has reached such a pitch of perfection?

	Net Income. Lires.	*Number of Proprietors.*	*Total Income.* Lires.
Between 1 and...	100	87,917	2,622,000
Up to	500	31,467	7,115,000
„	1,000	7,025	4,945,000
„	2,000	3,834	5,381,000
„	3,000	1,331	2,228,000
„	4,000	663	2,256,000
„	5,000	392	1,819,000
„	10,000	754	5,238,000
„	15,000	222	2,735,000
„	20,000	85	1,472,000
„	30,000	84	2,063,000
„	40,000	29	988,000
„	50,000	22	972,000
„	100,000	21	1,411,000
Above 100,000		10	2,283,000

The lire is of the value of eightpence; therefore the mass of Tuscan landholders enjoy an income varying from eightpence to *3l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per year. This class amounts nearly to 88,000. The next largest class of 31,000 proprietors, have an income varying between *3l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, per annum. These two classes outnumber infinitely all the rest, and this fact, coupled with the perfect system of cultivation which exists, serves to prove that small holdings, are not, as is very commonly supposed, incompatible with high skill, industry, and marked superiority in agriculture. Mr. Laing, in his book, is quite triumphant on this subject. He exclaims:—

"Compare the agricultural industry and operations in this land of small farms with the best of our large farm districts, with Tweedside of East Lothian, and snap your fingers at the wisdom of our Sir Johns, and all the host of our book-makers on agriculture, who bleat after each other that saw of the thriving-tenantry-times of the war,—that small farms are incompatible with a high and perfect state of cultivation. Scotland or England *can produce no one tract of land to be compared to this strath of the Arno*, not to say for productiveness, because that depends upon soil and climate, which we have not of similar quality to compare, but for industry and intelligence applied to husbandry, for perfect drainage, for irrigation, for garden-like culture, for clean state of crops, for absence of all waste of land, labour, or manure, for good cultivation, in short, and the good condition of the labouring cultivator. These are points which admit of being compared between one farm and another, in the most distinct soils and climates. Our system of large farms will gain nothing in comparison with the husbandry of Tuscany, Flanders, or Switzerland, under a system of small farms."*

* I must, in fairness, observe, it is denied that, with all its ad-

These are the remarks of a shrewd Scotchman; no doubt he is over confident, but his observations on the subject are very sensible. Although his opinion of the superiority of small farm cultivation be sustained by the example of several other countries, yet it may not be of universal application, and may be ill-suited to England. It is most undoubtedly the duty of all men who think upon a subject so interesting to the prosperity of a nation, to consider and compare carefully the condition of continental countries, and the small farm system, with that even of the most favoured spots of wealthy England. The passage here quoted, from the same writer, puts this matter in a forcible way before the understanding.

"If we listen to the large farmer, the scientific agriculturist, the political economist, good farming must perish with large farms; the very idea that good farming can exist unless on large farms cultivated with great capital, they hold to be absurd. Draining, manuring, economical arrangements, cleaning the land, regular rotations, valuable stock and implements, all belong exclusively to large farms, worked by large capital and by hired labour. This reads very well; but if we raise our eyes from their books to their fields, and coolly compare what we see in the best districts farmed in large farms with what we see in the best districts farmed in small farms, we see, and there is no blinking the fact, better crops on the ground in Flanders, East Friesland, Holstein, in short, on the whole line of the arable land of equal quality of the continent, from the Sound to Calais, than we see on the line of British coast opposite to this line, and in the same latitude, from the Frith of Forth all round to Dover. Minute

vantages of soil, climate, and situation, the Val d'Arno produces more food for the sustenance of man than is obtained from the like quantity of land in the cold countries of the north.

labour on small portions of arable ground give evidently, in equal soils and climate, a superior productiveness, where *these small portions belong* in *property* to the farmer.

"In the best farmed parish in Scotland or England, more land is wasted in corners and borders of the fields of large farms, in the roads through them unnecessarily wide because they are bad, and bad because they are wide, in neglected commons, waste spots, useless belts and clumps of sorry trees, and such unproductive areas, as would maintain the poor of the parish, if they were all laid together and cultivated. But large capital applied to farming is, of course, only applied to the very best of the soils of a country. It cannot touch the small unproductive spots which require more time and labour to fertilize them than is consistent with a quick return of capital. But, although hired time and labour cannot be applied beneficially to such cultivation, the owner's own time and labour may. He is working for no higher returns at first from his land than a bare living. But in the course of generations fertility and value are produced; a better living, and even very improved processes of husbandry are attained. Furrow draining, stall feeding all summer, liquid manures, are universal in the husbandry of the small farms of Flanders, Lombardy, and Switzerland.

"The supply of the European markets with flax and hemp by the husbandry of small farmers, the abundance of legumes, fruits, poultry, in the usual diet even of the lowest classes, and this variety and abundance essentially connected with the husbandry of small farmers; all these are features in the system of the occupation of a country by small *proprietor farmers*, which must make the inquirer pause before he admits the dogma of our land doctors at home, that large farms, worked by hired labour and great capital, can alone bring out the greatest productiveness of the soil, and furnish the greatest supply of the necessaries and conveniences of life to the inhabitants of a country."

The conclusion of this shrewd writer is, that the quantity of food actually raised in a whole country is undoubtedly greater under the system of small farms in a garden-like cultivation. He insists the densest populations in Europe are those of Flanders and Lombardy, and they are subsisted in comfort by land cultivated by small farmers.

With respect to the condition of the bulk of the people and the state of agriculture in Lombardy, we must be more specific. I doubt if the inquiry establishes all for which Mr. Laing contends. During centuries a system of scientific irrigation has been practised through districts of Lombardy, by means of canals, rivers, and lakes, which has increased the fertility and productiveness of the soil to a surprising degree. Irrigation in large districts supplies the want of manure—the water being impregnated with rich particles of matter and diffused equally over the soil. Near the great towns manure is copiously employed; everywhere carefully saved. The great plain of Lombardy may be divided into the watered lands, which, in the neighbourhood of Milan, sell at *two hundred pounds of our money the acre.* The farms so generally used as dairy farms, in the making of the celebrated cheese, are not large; 120 acres would be considered as extensive—forty acres the average. The small farmers sell their milk to their neighbours, who, having larger farms, can better make the cheese. These dairy farmers are said to be the most prosperous in Lombardy; they pay a money rent, and *have leases for nine years.*

It is fortunate the expectation of renewal of their short leases prevents them from exhausting the lands. The rent is sometimes as high as 6*l.* the English acre, but it must be remembered their winter meadows are

mowed six times a-year, and the taxes are paid and repairs done by the proprietor. In other districts there is a class of middlemen who squeeze the occupier, and screw what they can from him.

The largest class, however, are called *coloni*, or colonists; they hold very small patches, an acre or less, not as proprietors; and pay a rent by dividing the produce with the owner, as the *mezzadria* tenants in Tuscany. The condition of this large class is described as wretched, and almost without hope; badly fed, badly housed, ill educated, and yet multiplying with alarming rapidity. The land is the great and almost only means of procuring subsistence. So every man grasps at a patch of land on which he may exist, and struggle to better himself by breeding a few silk-worms. The aspect of this description of occupiers is very painful. Nowhere do the rich proprietors reside as country gentlemen on their estates; they congregate in the great towns which, through Italy, contain the bulk of the population.

Here it is proved the tenants holding by leases are prosperous—the occupiers of patches of ground at a rent miserable; while it must be carefully remembered that the small farmers referred to, as successful and productive in their industry, are PROPRIETORS, not rack-rent tenants.

Let us now examine the relation which subsists in Tuscany between the actual cultivator of the farm and the proprietor of the land. Few of the proprietors around Florence will grant leases, yet so binding is the force of prescription, so mutual the interest of landlord and tenant, and so close the intertexture of their property, *that removals are very rare, and many now occupy the farms which their forefathers tilled during the Florentine republic.*

The Italians have a wise proverb,—"*Tante mute tante cadute.*"

The fields in the environs of Florence are generally ditched, and often lined with poplars, and intersected by the vines and the olive. The spade is preferred to the plough, as ensuring a larger produce.

"The rich plain of the Val d' Arno yields usually TWO HARVESTS A-YEAR, the first of wheat, the second of some green crop; which last is sometimes ploughed up, and left to rot in the field as manure for the next. This crop is interrupted every third or fourth year by a crop of Turkey wheat, sometimes of beans or rye, and more rarely of oats. Barley was unknown here until the breweries established at Florence and Pisa called it into cultivation."*

Now let us return to Von Raumer, who, in his usual style of peremptory dogmatism, discusses this interesting question of the utility of the Tuscan system of tenure and farming.

"The farmers are called halflings, *mezzajuoli*, who cultivate the land on condition of sharing the produce with the proprietor. I may observe the principle of this system of cultivation is derived from the earliest ages, and it seems of itself eminently just, on this ground that, while the landowner shares in the benefits of rich harvests, *he likewise shares in the risk of bad seasons and bad crops as well as the farmer: he divides the loss and the gain.* This seems but reasonable. The landlord and tenant are thus equally interested in improving the farm, the division of the produce relating even to the poultry, but not to the honey."

Von Raumer then puts the opposite views of this system, from which he draws three conclusions.

* Forsythe.

He asserts, and truly, the *mezzajuolo* has not taxes to pay, knows no cares, he has no trouble with buying and selling; with men servants and women servants he has no expenses, needs no capital, finds everywhere an adequate return for his labour, is a co-proprietor without inconvenience, content without pressure and irritation. On the other hand, the complaints of landlords are loud and general of ruinous management, carelessness, obstinacy, want of improving spirit, which they ascribe to this mode of letting. Crops of grapes and olives are precarious; the losses chiefly fall on the landlord, for the *mezzajuolo* tenant will yet have enough to live upon, whilst the landlord must provide the capital required to repair what losses may occur, and is constantly obliged to pay debts imprudently incurred by the tenant. The landlords propose to remedy these *evils and to give permanence to the tenure, which is uncertain*, although seldom interfered with, *by substituting written contracts and fixed rents.* Von Raumer objects to this change, insisting that the foundation of the compact now subsisting, *mutual confidence*, must suffer from the introduction of written agreements,—a puerile argument, I think. He draws three conclusions; I doubt whether they will be considered very much to recommend this system of letting:—

"1st. In certain states of society it is a natural condition, but it affords no general rule for all countries and all times.

"2nd. The well-being and discomfort of landlords and tenants depend less on the main conditions of a division of the produce, than upon other minor conditions, circumstances, and customs.

"3rd. The *mezzadria* invariably secures, by the division in kind, against extreme poverty; on the other hand, it prevents improvement and keeps persons in the same state of

mediocrity. Hence the proverb, '*Chi e' nato povero sara sempre povero.*'* But if, from the increase of population and the increased offers of tenants, a mischievous disposition to augment their burdens should seize the landlords, then, in place of the humane, the paternal, the joint interest, there will succeed a frightful tyranny, an execrable monopoly of private property, the impoverishment and degeneracy of whole nations. *From this state of Ireland, Tuscany, thank God, is far removed; and whoever is acquainted with the Irish principle of letting for money, must admit that the abolition of the 'mezzadria' and the adoption of the money-letting system would be a retrograde step for Tuscany, and the adoption of the joint-crop system a great advance for Ireland.*"

The suggestion as to Ireland is well deserving consideration. The references, however, of Von Raumer defeat some of his arguments. In the "*Jornale Agrario*" it is written:—

"The minute cultivation of *small proprietors* gives to every country a great number of useful and productive economical establishments, and is attended with the improved cultivation of large tracts of land. 'For the benefit of agriculture,' says Landucci, 'and for the advantage of intelligent proprietors, I should like to associate myself with those *who prefer letting for long terms, and still more would I recommend the fixed rent.*'"

* I ought to subjoin; a French economist, Monsieur Sullin de Chateauvieux, who examined the condition of the Tuscan farmers accurately, asserted that, although the fields were beautiful, covered by a perpetual verdure, and cultivated like gardens, yet, on entering the dwellings of the *mezzajuolo*, you perceive an absence of all the conveniences of life, a table of extreme frugality, and an appearance of penury, in the midst of a country producing a rich abundance. These farmers shew any means they have chiefly in the flaunting dresses and costly ornaments of their wives.

Von Raumer maintains the *mezzadria* should not be exchanged for an Irish, or even an English system of letting for a term. The aspirations of the tenant *for absolute free property*, he thinks, should be encouraged, as most favourable to the intellectual development of man, and as being the richest source of the noblest love of country. It is important to remember that, with all the exertions of the Tuscans, they cannot raise food sufficient for the people; obliged to import, they allow no corn-laws, nor suffer any prohibition against the importation of grain to exist.

Of course, Von Raumer, in the true spirit of a German, thinks there is nothing like Prussia. The German system of agriculture he believes to be perfect. A considerable part of one summer I spent in the kingdom of Bavaria, and was struck, in common with other travellers, by the inferior style of cultivation, and the very low state of the agriculture of many parts of that country. Curious to ascertain the tenure of land, and the system prevalent as to the letting of farms, I availed myself of an introduction to a Bavarian connected with the Court, a man of ability and distinction, who explained fully the particulars I desired to know.

From a note preserved at the time, I am enabled to give the substance of this conversation, the facts contained in which may enable one to compare the agriculture of a well-governed part of Germany, with Italy, the theories already mentioned, and even the condition of agriculture in the British Isles. With respect to the tenure of land in Bavaria, one class of estates are entailed on the nobles, who sit in parliament; these cannot be sold, at least while their possessors are in parliament. Large tracts belong to the Crown, which were subject to many of the incidents of our old feudal

tenure, or what might be considered analogous thereto; these incidents have been commuted into a money payment; one of the chief incidents so commuted was that of allowing the tenant to marry as he pleased. Yet the tenants of the other proprietors are better off than those under the crown, because, when a calamity occurs to the harvest, some allowance will, from feeling, be granted by the proprietor, which is never made by the crown to its tenants. The rent being paid, which is the first charge, and very moderate, there seems to be no power to put out the tenant in possession, no matter what he may do. My informant did not comprehend our ejectment system, neither the word nor the thing meant by it. The *bauers*, or peasants in possession, do as they please with the land, never, in any manner, interfered with by the lord or baron. The only hold the barons appear to have over the tenants consists in the power of refusing them the right to marry, for, without the permission of the baron, the *bauer* in possession under him cannot marry, and when the family of the *bauer* is extinct, the baron resumes the possession of his land. Thus, the baron will sometimes run his life against the tenant's for the purpose mentioned; but, in general, the matter is compromised, and the desired permission granted, and then the land remains to the *bauer* and his children, while they live, without the possibility of being disturbed. There is a great subdivision of land amongst the peasants, which does not affect the rights of the baron. The result of the system is, that nearly the whole of the soil is in the hands of the *bauers*, who, paying their rent, or feudal tax, do with the land exactly as they please. There are no country gentlemen through Bavaria, few resident nobles, no abject misery or want amongst the

farmers, neither have they capital, skill, flourishing farms, or any example stimulating to improvement.

Having heard this explanation, and compared it with the actual state of the land and its cultivation, these conclusions seemed to follow. That every year the subdivision of land amongst the *bauers* in Bavaria becomes greater; that the farmers are without skill or money; that no reforms are introduced, and there is nobody to afford them a better example; that, all the while, their drudgery, especially that of the women, is prodigious, but, as it is often ill-directed and unassisted by capital and knowledge, it is comparatively unproductive. Further, as each district must maintain its poor, so the district has the power, by law, of refusing to an inhabitant the liberty of marrying, as the applicant for a wife must satisfy his township he has the means to support one. The township, owing to the causes already mentioned, is not in a condition to increase its burthen, and encourage a further subdivision of land, and so, constantly refuses liberty to marry, which, of course, operates most prejudicially upon the morals of the people; a vast majority of the children born in Munich are illegitimate. Even if leave to marry is given, and the man afterwards wishes to sell his land, this can be done only by leave of the township, and the purchase money *must* be invested to the satisfaction of the district in other visible property, which, in its turn, is subject to the same law.

This condition of things seems opposed to the idea of the division of land into small farms, coupled even with a permanent interest therein, being calculated to produce a general improvement of the country or habits of the people: old residents have assured me they think improvement hopeless under the present system, *because*

there is no capital to work on. These who desire to examine the question with reference to France ere they travel in that kingdom, will do well to read the number of the "Quarterly Review" for January 1847, and compare the facts and reasoning therein with the authorities already referred to; they will then be the better fitted to inspect with their own eyes the agriculture of those countries where the small farm system prevails, and to compare and contrast the results with the agriculture of England. It is a remarkable fact, that nearly four millions of families in France possess each a farm averaging eight acres only; and that there are 2,600,000 families whose annual income does not exceed 2*l.* per annum. These small farmers are chiefly proprietors. Although these facts are so, it by no means follows that these persons, or the kingdom at large, would be in a better condition with regard to the production of food under an opposite system. Such a conclusion can only be made after a full investigation into the condition of France before the Revolution, and since, as an agricultural country.

It might however be a useful inquiry, whether something like the Tuscan system of letting could not, to some extent, be introduced into Ireland with advantage. Upon what ground in reason or justice, for example, should a landlord receive, where he has not granted a lease, one farthing of rent, when the whole crop is destroyed by unforeseen calamity, and famine overspreads the land?

What in Ireland would be miscalled charity, in Tuscany is the law and but naked justice. The Tuscan system may have its evils, but it unites the farmer and proprietor in a common interest, and saves the laborious producer from ruin. Rent should be considered as the

setting apart a reasonable portion of the crop for the owner of the land; it follows, when there is no crop, not owing to any default in the farmer, there ought to be no rent. The owner is entitled to the whole produce of the land, minus the hire of the time, labour, and skill which give that produce. In this view, if nothing could be or had been produced without default in the tenant, the owner would be, and should be, the sufferer. If, owing to the character of the people, the division of crop could not in our country be adopted, the long term and fixed moderate rent, which seems now generally preferred abroad, might. This system, which many persons in Tuscany would prefer to their *mezzadria*, can easily be adopted when landholders wish to act justly; and then, as the landlord would not share the benefit of any excessive crop, neither ought he to suffer from any unexpected loss.

Human nature is pretty much the same everywhere, and the like motives may operate in Ireland, which succeeded in Tuscany. No change could alter the state of things in relation to the letting of lands in two provinces in Ireland, for the worse; and there may be hope (if a practical reform was attempted in a wise and temperate spirit, supported by the landlords,) of some change for the better. It is not creditable to the collected wisdom of England, to attempt nothing on a bold and comprehensive scale for the social improvement of Ireland. And as the evils under which she groans, or many of them, spring from the mode in which the land is held, and miserably (or not at all) cultivated, or suffered to lie waste, the attention of the legislature should be directed to the means calculated to remove or abate the cause of these deplorable evils. A lesson might be derived from the example of other nations, even Tuscany.

A parliament, it is true, cannot change the character of a people, but it may stimulate industry and do justice. The admitted difficulties in the way of legislation, on the landlord and tenant system in Ireland, are not to deter a wise, or able minister, from the attempt. If we may not hope for a vigorous or splendid measure, we may expect at least some useful improvement.

Landlords ought to be encouraged by every inducement to grant permanent leases—many cannot for a longer period than twenty-one years; too short as to waste lands to induce extensive reclamations. Tenants for life and in tail might be granted a leasing power, by statute, over all waste lands for a period of ninety-nine years. The like might be granted to the Court of Chancery to affect the estates of minors, lunatics, and all others over whom it has control; the lease to be made under this statute could be declared good against the world. The government ought in particular districts to show by example how the reclamation could be effected, in the hope of bringing into contact waste labour, and waste lands, from which improvement must, and prosperity may, result.

The tenure of lands held by leases for lives renewable for ever should be simplified, so as to dispense with the necessity of constant renewals. *One sixth of the lands of Ireland is held under a title of this nature.* If the existence of what is called tenant right be productive of good in Ulster, the principle should be fearlessly applied to the other provinces. If the tenant, unlike the farmer of any country in Europe, will neither pay a reasonable rent, nor till the ground according to an improved system, he must be compelled to yield the possession to those who will. Until some change, by which I mean improvement, and in a large scale, be effected

in the letting, reclaiming, and cultivating of land, Ireland must continue, in respect of the agriculture of a large portion of her soil and the condition of the bulk of her people, behind every country in Europe I have seen (excepting the Papal states) — a dishonour to the government and legislature of England, and a disgrace to the civilization of the age.*

* As to the mode in which waste lands of Tuscany were extensively reclaimed, see life of Leopold, in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

TUSCANY.

The Political Liberty, and Freedom of the Press in Florence. —The Condition of Literature. — Under what Disabilities it labours in Italy.

This will prove a brief chapter. Seated one evening at a window, looking into a piazza in Florence, where many people were passing and repassing, I asked my friend, the priest, if these people now before us were to stop, collect, and begin to discuss some political question, what would be the result? The police, said he, would quickly appear, inquire what the people were talking about, and, finding the subject of their discussion political, would instantly disperse them. This is a simple, decisive course.

No verbal discussion, in public, of the acts of government is permitted; and no book, or pamphlet, or newspaper touching the like matters can see the light. The freedom of the press is regulated by a Board consisting of two priests and two laymen. They decide whether any book, be it on theology, history, science, or literature, may be published or not. The manuscript must be submitted to them in the first instance. What is very curious, and exhibits in a lively manner the genius of Austria, the priests themselves are under strict *surveillance*; for every sermon preached by them in Lent, especially by the strange priests who then visit Florence, must be first read and revised by the appointed officer.

The Grand-Duke remembers the history of the monk Savonarola; pulpit eloquence is dangerous, and exciting; oratory is stifled in Austrian Italy. The municipal institutions are narrow and illiberal; all real power is lodged in the government. Leopold, the reformer, wished to elevate his people by giving them some share in the control of their own affairs, ultimately, it is said, to qualify them for freedom; the present system strips the Tuscan of every shred of political liberty, and may, if continued, incapacitate him from rightly using the blessing, if he had the power to obtain it.

The Grand-Duke, however, is an amiable man. When an Italian writer lately published furtively a political pamphlet, he received orders immediately to *quit Florence.*

The present condition of the Tuscan people is extraordinary; they have considerable intercourse with the free nations of Europe, are highly civilized, descended from a republican ancestry, and yet have no periodical literature, and are not permitted the benefits of a newspaper press, nor must they presume to discuss any political question. The government is at the same time attentive to its duties, and is watchful over the interests of the people. I have heard English residents in Florence assert, this was precisely as it ought to be; and that the character of modern Italians suited best with such a system. My own opinion is the reverse of this. I think the system degrades the people, and tends to unfit them for political business. It seems the height of injustice to accuse men of ignorance and incompetence, when they are not suffered to exercise their understandings, or prove their ability for public life. In the spacious walks of literature, the dis-

tinguished men of Italy, when permitted to move, have made a rapid and a brilliant progress. We ought to commend their exertions the more highly, when we reflect on the difficulties they have to encounter and overcome. An author in Italy can scarcely hope to realize any emolument whatever from his writings, and often finds it impossible to procure a publisher to undertake the expense and risk of a new work. When spirited enough to grapple with this difficulty, authors publish at their own cost. The Heidelberg professor mentions in his essay, already quoted, that a learned Italian friend of his, one distinguished by his writings, was forced to expend 15,000 francs, in order to get his books published. This difficulty (not appreciated with us) being overcome, the next obstacle in the author's way is the censorship. What he most values may be erased capriciously. But assume he publishes in Florence, on a subject in which some liberality of sentiment is *there* allowed, as the sale of his book in Tuscany would be but small, how is he to gain a circulation in the other Italian states, Rome for example? Having escaped the censorship in Tuscany is nothing, the hated book must be again subjected in the papal states to a special revision, probably at the homes of the Jesuits, who judge of the merits of a publication by the principles of their order. The author must run the gauntlet of an ecclesiastical and a literary censorship in Rome; and of a severe political censorship in Austrian Italy, Modena, Naples, and Turin. As the feelings of the governing powers vary, so do their literary censors restrict or expand their indulgence. Silvio Pellico's narrative of his imprisonment by Austrian tyranny, prohibited at Milan, is purchasable in Rome; and, on the other hand, a publication touching

on judicial or administrative reforms, offensive to the Papacy, would be tolerated in Venice. Independently of these serious impediments in the way of a circulation of books through Italy, there is a considerable duty payable on the admission into one state of works printed in another, while piracy is not prohibited. The duty on foreign books admitted into Naples in one year amounted to 15,000 crowns; this again increases the price and checks the circulation. The learned men of Italy, therefore, are aiming at procuring, if possible, one equal law of literary property, of fiscal taxation, and of censorship throughout the peninsula.

When we consider the foregoing circumstances, great must be our surprise that the modern literature of Italy has exhibited so much energy and ability. History, jurisprudence, the classics, antiquities, have been worthily handled; while in poetry and romance, we have Silvio Pellico, Ricci, Rosini, Azeglio, and, above all, Manzoni; even on the political prospects of Italy, the learned and patriotic Count Balbo has (at Turin) written with talent and spirit. There was in Florence some years ago, a very clever periodical called the "Antologia." This was suppressed by the government in 1833; I remember asking a bookseller in Pisa *why;* he answered boldly, *because its contributors dared to write in favour of liberty.*

The men who have so proved their capacity and knowledge are still living, able and willing to direct and instruct the public mind of Italy; and I firmly believe, should an opportunity occur for their patriotic exertions, they will guide their countrymen to liberty and greatness.

CHAPTER VII.

A Journey from Oxford to Rome in safety.—Aspect of Religion in France.—Belgium.—Prussia.—Bavaria.—Germany.—The great Roman Catholic Sects.—Are the Oxford Tractarians right, and was the Reformation wrong?—A Help to the Decision of that Question.—The Aspect of Religion in Italy.—Sardinia, Lombardy, and Tuscany, contrasted.—The Miracles.—A practical Method of defending the Reformation by a Layman.

"The Christian religion, rightly understood, is the deepest and choicest piece of philosophy that is."

THERE cannot be a more interesting inquiry to engage the attention of the traveller at the present day, than the consideration of the actual state of religious opinion and practice in several of the countries of Europe, in which the Roman Catholic Church is that of the majority of the people, and, of the difference in their spiritual and political liberties.

The recent movement of the men of Oxford to undo the work of the Reformation, prosecuted with no less energy than craft, stimulates our minds to the investigation, and renders it the more important. This inquiry, though brief, may be useful, especially if conducted in a temperate spirit, and prompted by the desire of ascertaining truth. No Protestant ought to shrink from the discussion (now thrust upon him) as to the necessity of the Reformation, or of the soundness of the principles upon which it rests; and if con-

vinced by the inquiry that this fundamental change was needless or sinful, he should at once retrace his steps, renounce error, and embrace infallible truth.

It is asserted to be the great characteristic of the Roman Catholic religion that it is one and the same all over the world, distracted by no divisions, disgraced by no sects; yet does that religion present itself to the eye of the observing traveller under a variety of aspects, as he passes through the different countries of Europe. Its boasted uniformity is apparent, not real. On the contrary, the great sects of the Roman Catholic Church are as marked by their practices and opinions, as those objected to in Protestantism. The outward aspect, the ceremonies, sacerdotal authority, some of the doctrines and ecclesiastical institutions, vary with the habits, liberty, government, tastes, or education of the people of each country, and even in a geographical ratio according to the proximity or remoteness from Rome. So that the tourist in one single country would have no right conception of the aspect, character, and condition of the Church of Rome in another country. For example, no two things can be more opposite than the external appearance of the Church of Rome in America and Italy. An American missionary, whom I met in Italy, assured me of this fact.

In France the state of religion approaches in principle rather to Protestantism than the rigid Roman Catholicism of Italy; for in the whole extent of that kingdom we meet no friars, no monks, no religious processions in public; there exists no power to appoint bishops in the pope, the papal supremacy is almost nominal, and the Gallican liberties are firmly established. The education of the lower classes is, by an ingenious contrivance of the state, wrested wholly from the priest-

hood; nay, more, we find a professor in the College of France writing with boldness against the practice and abuses of the confessional, and his book generally read, and, it is believed, acted upon by a large section of the educated and even humbler classes. We observe the Jesuits severely dealt with, and peremptorily expelled—the Scriptures allowed to be printed and circulated, and the reformed faith not merely tolerated, but its professors endowed by the State; in a word, we have extensive religious and political freedom, the authority of the Pope reduced to a shadow, his holiness described as "a decorated phantom," and the power of the priesthood over the minds of the people nearly at an end.*

In Belgium we perceive an altered state of things. The priests are numerous and active, to be met in sacerdotal attire everywhere, mixing amongst the people, and appearing to possess great control over not merely their spiritual, but political concerns. The constitution is in theory tolerant, and although the Roman Catholic is the religion of the preponderating majority, yet the clergy of the very small Protestant minority are paid by the State, and latterly the Parliament has, I believe, granted a small sum even to encourage worship according to the ceremonies of the Church of England. Rome would not sanction this singular liberality.

The education of the masses of the people in Belgium is entirely in the hands of the clergy, and subject to their management. The priest, with his breviary,

* The leading journal in France published recently an article which contained an admission no less curious than candid; that the preponderance in the world belongs to Protestant principles, and that the superiority of these last is becoming more and more incontestible.

and the Sisters of Charity, are to be seen everywhere. The religious foundations of the Church of Rome are rigidly upheld; still political and religious liberty is established and enforced. The consequences to be expected from a toleration of opinion and political liberty are, however, now appearing, and illiberal influences are rapidly diminishing under the growing enlightenment of the people. I think it highly probable that priestly authority, in all matters not immediately connected with the church, will be ere long reduced in Belgium within very narrow limits, and even as to the propriety of many of the practices of the Church of Rome a great difference of opinion may arise. What is termed the liberal party acquires fresh strength daily.

In the Prussian states of the Rhine, the Roman Catholic religion prominently meets the eye in processions and ceremonies; in which there is afforded, curiously enough, greater latitude to Roman Catholics under the Protestant government of Prussia than by the Roman Catholic government of France; but still the least attempt to interfere with the feelings of the government or the laws of the state, on the part of the priesthood at the command of the Pope, would be instantly resisted and crushed; as in the memorable example of the Archbishop of Cologne, who, when attempting to neutralize the law as to mixed marriages, was imprisoned in the fortress of Magdeburg.

Religious toleration in the Prussian dominions exists; and political liberty will soon happily be fully enjoyed. The authority of the Pope, even in spiritual concerns, is repressed within such limits as the state finds convenient.

In the little Duchy of Nassau, where the Protestants and Roman Catholics are nearly equally divided, the state appoints and pays the Roman Catholic

Clergy, and the authority of the Pope is nominal. An excellent system of instruction for the people is provided, and the Scriptures freely circulated. It is worth recording that, as one of the national schoolmasters of Nassau explained to me, if the majority of the pupils in a parish are Protestant, the Roman Catholic children, in the minority, must submit to the reading of the Scriptures in the school; and if, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics are in the majority, the Scriptures are not read in the school. A suitable prayer is read by the schoolmaster every morning in presence of all the pupils.

As to Switzerland, it has been torn by religious dissensions, as far as I could understand, in repeated visits to that country, not so much from the principles of the Roman Catholic religion or any hostile feeling to its existence, but from a bitter and, I fear, well founded animosity against the power and existence of the Jesuits and the tyranny of the priesthood in certain Roman Catholic cantons of the Confederation.

A curious fact I noted that although an unlimited democracy existed, yet was it intolerant; insomuch, that a native of Switzerland, not of the religion of the canton, could not obtain therein the smallest political right; which proves that an absolute democracy may not, in its government, ensure political liberty and religious toleration *to all classes* of the people. The influence of the priesthood in these particular cantons, was more absolute than in Rome itself, meeting the eye in processions and external exhibitions everywhere—hence the above curious result in a republic. I may mention the following anecdote to shew the feeling entertained by the educated natives respecting the character of the government in some of the Swiss cantons in which the

Jesuit influence was supreme. An accident compelled me on one occasion to remain two days at Bellinzona, a town lying at the foot of the St. Gothard, one of the most striking of the Alpine passes. In this place I fell in with a Swiss engineer, who was the officer appointed by his canton to direct and execute some improvements in the extraordinary road which here crosses the Alps. This gentlemen, in the evening, conversed with me about the government of the Roman Catholic cantons in Switzerland freely, and made this observation:—"I am a Catholic myself, but I do not hesitate to declare that the government of the priests in some parts of my country is a disgrace to the civilization of the age." He described it frankly, and, I fear, truly. The priestly domination, then so powerful, has been since, it may be hoped, for ever overthrown.

Bavaria is a Roman Catholic country, *i. e.* the sovereign and a majority of the people are of that persuasion, but there is a large and highly respectable minority of the Protestant faith, and there cannot be a more interesting tour than through the old German towns belonging to Bavaria, as Augsburg, Nuremburg, Bamburg, and Wurtzburg. Nuremburg is wholly Protestant, but the temperate reformers of this fine old place changed their religion without altering one iota of the churches or their ancient decorations. No vile iconoclasts demolished the architectural ornaments of Nuremburg, and Protestants find they can worship with pure hearts, seated on the benches on which their Roman Catholic forefathers sat, and looking unmoved at those figures which their ancestors gazed on with eyes of faith. There are about 3,000,000 of Roman Catholics to 1,000,000 of Protestants, and the sovereign is of the Roman Catholic persuasion. A more tolerant govern-

ment scarcely exists. There are some monastic establishments, but chiefly permitted for the purposes of instruction and charge of the sick. The government appoints the Roman Catholic bishops, and the clergy of both persuasions are supported by the state; the Roman Church having also revenues arising from lands and endowments. The outward aspect of religion resembles that of England more than Rome; there is always, I observe, less of the external ceremonial of the Church of Rome in a country where a Protestant minority exists.

The religious processions one meets in Bavaria are of a very pleasing and simple character. Some thirty men and women, two by two, march along; a man at the head of the procession giving out a verse of a psalm or hymn, which all then chaunt, and so carrying a cross they move on to worship in some favourite sanctuary. I was acquainted with a Church of England clergyman who officiated in the kingdom of Bavaria for the English, and resided several years in that country. The Lutherans were few in the district, and this clergyman was permitted by the authorities, during the winter, to have service for them in his house.

The mode he adopted was to get the Liturgy of the Church of England translated into German, and read to the Lutherans; this pleased them exceedingly. The same clergyman mentioned to me that the courtesy exhibited to him invariably was very marked; the Roman Catholic government encouraged him; and when a sick Lutheran appeared in the hospital, and no Lutheran minister was at hand, the Roman Catholic priest would himself send for my friend to give religious consolation to the Protestant invalid. No vulgar attempt was made to proselytize, no intolerance, no discourtesy.

The authority of the Pope is jealously curtailed in Bavaria; and the Jesuits are not only in bad repute but are driven out of the country. The Bavarian sect of the Roman Catholic Church is tolerant and moderate, reformed practically in many of what are held in Rome as important ceremonies and even fundamental doctrines. The Scriptures are not forbidden nor repressed by the authority of the state.

I spent a portion of two summers in Baden Baden. The people of this favoured duchy have a free constitution, and I have been present at the debates of their House of Assembly, Carlsruhe, which are open to the public. The Roman Catholics are as two to one, that is, 800,000 to 400,000. The sovereign, however, is Protestant. The Roman Catholics have the largest establishment, but ecclesiastical affairs are all settled by a domestic tribunal,—no question relating to the Romish Church can be referred to Rome; nor can any fund be exacted by the Pope.

A very few nunneries, subject to the strictest regulations, are allowed. All subjects are eligible alike for office, but there was a law which excluded those who disbelieved in the Trinity; whether it exists now I do not precisely know. The outward aspect of religion in this well governed duchy also resembles that in a Protestant country, and is wholly unlike what may be observed in the Italian states. I have attended Protestant worship in a Roman Catholic Church in this duchy: the English had no place in which to assemble for divine service, and the use of a Roman Catholic Church was granted them after mass had first been performed for the Roman Catholics. The latter denomination of Christians were not in the least offended at this use being made of their church. To the eye of

a Protestant the altar settled for the performance of mass, and the peculiar ornaments around the altar and building had a strange appearance. This German toleration would have been considered *sacrilege* in Rome.

In another part of Germany I was well acquainted with a clever physician of the Roman Catholic religion, —he was a tolerant, enlightened gentleman; I refer to a period after the memorable exhibition of the holy coat in Treves, and when Rongé was preaching on the opposite bank of the Rhine. This physician assured me the German Roman Catholics differed more widely from *each other* than from the Protestants. Many doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church are quietly but firmly rejected by professing German Roman Catholics. The Germans are a grave, peculiar people, and although they often dissent from doctrines propounded by the Church, they do not outwardly form sects, or break into divisions. The observation of Von Raumer in a conversation recorded in one of his books is worthy attention—more likely to be true in relation to the Germans than to any other people.

"We were unanimous in this, that the entire doctrines of Protestantism, and the entire doctrines of Catholicism are adopted and followed but *by very few*, that in fact feeling and conviction modify both, and give them a new form, both with the world in general, and with every thinking individual."

It appears to me not an unfair conclusion to draw, that all the Roman Catholic states which reject *some* and maintain *some* of the doctrines, ceremonies, and institutions taught, practised, and upheld in Rome, are verging to Protestantism, because they reason on

these matters and decide according to their own judgment, regardless of the wish or the authority of the Pope. This asserts the *principle* of Protestantism by exercising the right of judgment independently of the authority of the Church.

When we descend into Italy, whether from the Tyrol or Switzerland, we find the outward aspect of the Roman Catholic religion wholly changed; monks and friars continually cross our path in procession and ceaseless ceremonies.

But here we must distinguish the different kingdoms of Italy. In reference to the monastic orders especially, the policy of the Austrian government has long been to limit their numbers, and that policy has been eminently successful.

The Emperor Joseph, I believe it was, who established the rule that the bishop of the district should be the authority to permit the profession of the monk; and the government having wrested from the Pope the appointment of the bishop thus acquired control over the monastic orders. And so skilfully has their system been pursued that it is calculated there are not now more than 1000 monks in the whole of the Austrian dominions in Italy, and that this number diminishes daily, whereas in and around Genoa (belonging to Sardinia) alone it is computed there are 1800 monks.

The Italian dominions of the King of Sardinia are thoroughly priest-ridden: the priest, the monks, and their processions, convents, and monasteries, cover the whole kingdom. And the government, however it may latterly affect liberality in trade, and even in politics, is thoroughly bigoted and its practice most intolerant. I recollect meeting an English family in Geneva, who

mentioned that they had spent a Sunday with several other English people in a village in Savoy (which belongs to Sardinia). Wishing to read the church service together on the Sabbath day, they assembled in the saloon of the hotel for that purpose; the landlord quickly appeared and inquired what they had collected to do; hearing it was to worship, he inquired—was it according to the Protestant religion? and being answered in the affirmative, he, with many apologies, required of the company to desist, declaring he should be heavily fined, nay, punished, should he permit such an impropriety in his house. No native, I apprehend, dares to change his religion. It is one of the curious facts to be remembered respecting Italy, that the sovereign who now professes the utmost liberality of feeling, the desire to encourage learning and learned men, and even to enlarge the municipal privileges and political freedom of his people, is outwardly a bigot, and his government and dominions as much apparently, and, I believe, in reality under the control of priestly influences as those of Rome itself. On the other hand, Austria, intolerant of political liberty, is tolerant of religious opinion, and jealous of the Romish priesthood, and watchful of its power.

We are now in Italy—Tuscany—forced to consider whether, as we approach Rome, the brightness of Apostolic truth shines upon us with increased splendour; whether, as the men of Oxford insist, the infallible church, its doctrines and practices, as exhibited under the Pope's sway, are indeed such as to convince the impartial inquirer, or win the faith of an humble Christian.

The effect produced by the writings of certain Oxford divines, has been great in Italy as in England;

before these learned men openly embraced the Roman Catholic faith, they laboured in their vocation to unsettle the minds of the youth of Oxford by their subtleties; to undermine the fabric of the Church of England by stealthy efforts; to misinterpret her plain articles by casuistry which the disciples of Loyola might envy. And all this they did under the mask of *belief* in the doctrines of the Church of England, and adherence to her creeds.

Let us carefully observe the system which these learned apostates prefer and invite us to adopt. If a single tract had escaped the censor in Rome, infringing ever so covertly the doctrines, practices, or discipline of the infallible church, the writer, if a priest, would have been instantly silenced and imprisoned.

Mr. Newman having adopted the Church of Rome, necessarily prefers this discipline, which, had he belonged to that church originally, and wished to reason on its faith or practice in the eternal city, would have prevented him effectually; but as, owing to the liberty of discussion existing in England on religious subjects, Mr. Newman has been permitted to add so valuable a contribution to our stock of divinity as can be found in the "Tracts for the Times," has openly denounced the Reformation, and held up to us the mirror of evangelic truth in the Church of Rome, it behoves us to look into that mirror, and see whether its beauty be disfigured by flaws which obscure the light it ought to give.

The first thing which startled me on my travels through Italy, was the assumption of miraculous powers by the clergy and Church of Rome.

I asked myself, could these things recorded, and apparently believed in by many, be true? I was willing,

in this great inquiry, to adopt the following sensible observations made in the Roman Catholic publication, called the "Dublin Review," in an article on "M'Cabe's Catholic History of England:"—

"The records of miracles are therefore not confined to Scripture, nor their performance to the times before it was written. The arm of God is not shortened: He is as able to perform miracles now, as when the shadow of Peter healed the diseased, and we would believe in a miracle performed in the nineteenth century as firmly as one performed in the fourth, or in the first, if it were attested by sufficient evidence. Miracles are certainly less frequent now than they were in the early ages; partly because the Gospel is propagated amongst us, and partly, we have no doubt, on account of our want of faith.

"But we should remember that Mr. M'Cabe's volume treats of the struggles of faith against infidelity, of the introduction of Christianity into a Pagan kingdom, and that miracles *were then necessary* for the propagation of the Gospel, for the *confusion* of the infidel, and for the strengthening of the believer. It is no error against faith to disbelieve any miracles that are not revealed in the Gospel; but it is a grievous injury to Christian piety to doubt God's power to work a miracle whenever He pleases, or to reject without inquiry what He, in His infinite mercy, may have intended for our instruction and edification. We are no believers in *pious frauds*, we are convinced that truth is necessary in everything, but especially in religion; and, therefore, we would *be amongst the first to denounce a fictitious 'miracle*, no matter what might be the object for which it was invented. In some instances a natural effect may be honestly mistaken for a miracle, and then it would be the greatest injustice to accuse the narrator of fraud, however we may disagree with his judgment. All we bespeak *for a miracle is what*

we have a right to ask for every important fact, an impartial examination."

This writer admits miracles are not now necessary nor usual, and that the narratives of these marvels are to be subjected to the rigid tests of truth and reason, and I agree with him. Of all places on earth Italy is the last where these wonders would be expected, for there is no work of conversion to be accomplished, the people being all firm believers in one church. Yet it is in Italy these miracles are of common occurrence. The laws of nature are daily suspended, and the miracles related in Scripture outdone. As a reasoning man, I proceed to examine this important subject in the spirit of charity, but with the determination to get at truth if possible. It is in a manner by way of self-defence, as a Protestant I write, because the exulting boast of many now is, especially in Rome, that it is confessed by learned divines in the Church of England, that the Reformation was not only unnecessary, but wicked.

I discard all ancient fables and musty books of exploded divinity, and take up, in Florence, a publication fresh from the mint, the matter of which is worthy of being classed with the admirable Oxford "Tracts for the Times."

I was directed to it by one long resident in Italy, after a conversation with a Florentine priest, the substance of which, by way of preface to the curious book I have translated and analysed, will be found in the succeeding chapter.

Two facts, however, ought to be remembered in considering the subject of the next chapter. First, that the board of censors over the press in Florence consists of *two ecclesiastics*, and two laymen. The other fact is

that, by the decrees of the Council of Trent, *no new miracles* are to be admitted but with the recognition and approbation of the bishop, who having received information respecting the same and taken the advice of divines and other pious men, may do whatever he shall judge consonant to truth and piety.*

* *Vide* Catechism of the Council. Part III. chap. ii. sec. 36. Donovan's Translation.

CHAPTER VIII.

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES.

Religious Education of the People.—How the Relics of a Saint are discovered and extracted from the Catacombs in Rome.—In what Manner disposed of.—Narrative of Miracles worked by St. Filomena. — Her History.—The Veneration of this Saint spreads through Tuscany.—Reflections on the Effect of Credulity upon the Character of a People.

My acquaintance, the priest, speaks his mind candidly on the subject of the religious education of the Tuscan people, and of the amount of scriptural knowledge prevalent amongst them. He says he possesses the Bible translated into five different languages. I inquired if it circulated amongst the people? The reply was, that the Scriptures in the Italian tongue, without explanation, were not permitted to be sold; that the translation, published with an elaborate commentary under the authority of the church, was too expensive a work for the Tuscans, even if they had any desire to read it: practically he admits the Scriptures are not in any shape in the hands of the people of this country. He does not seem to object to their being read, being himself a tolerant man.

The reading of the Scriptures being forbidden; it is highly instructive, with a view to the matter of the preceding chapter and generally, to examine the books of a religious character prevalent in Florence. I shall

select one; a well finished, respectable volume of 188 pages, entitled, "Memorie intorno al Martirio e Culto della Vergine S. Filomena," and of the finding and removal of her sacred body, abridged by the pious Florentine, P. S. Gatteschi; second edition enlarged and corrected. The frontispiece has an engraving of the Virgin, revered in the church of San Michele Visdomine, in Florence. The author explains, in seven pages, his reasons for giving a second edition, and his materials for corrections and improvements, and concludes his curious introduction thus:—

"For the rest, I shall esteem myself happy, if, by means of these pages, I may contribute to multiply new devotees to the Saint whose worship to the glory of God so rapidly spreads itself through every country of Italia."

On a separate sheet is printed a sort of formal protestation.

"The author protests, according to the decrees of Popes, and especially of Urban VIII. of happy memory, that every thing that has been written in the present volume is true; and he wishes whoever reads may understand it in this manner, so that it ought not to have any other authority or belief than that of historical narrative, which he submits to the judgment of the august head of the Catholic Church, the Pontiff of Rome."

Then follows the preface, which answers by anticipation the cavils of unbelief. The narrator naturally observes:—

"It will be objected to me, perhaps, that this is not, peradventure, an age which easily believes in miracles. I deny not that sometimes persons have abused the faith of the people, by showing as prodigies of Divine Omnipotence, things which were only prodigies of human craftiness. But

the difference between a miracle and an imposture is soon perceived; all exclaim against the latter, and this unexpected conclusion is drawn where an opposite result was hoped for. Thirty years have elapsed since Italy was full of the prodigies of the sainted virgin and martyr, whose history I am about to write. Is it possible that in so many countries, in the midst of so many people watchful to discredit miracles, a deception could have made progress for so long a period without any contradiction? Should any body ask the reason why miracles are wont to be uncommon now, when miracles so great and so frequent have happened formerly, I answer, that nobody can read the secrets of Divine Providence; great miracles are worked when God wishes by them to warn men ignorant or weak of faith. Let him who reads judge whether miracles are required in this our day."

The writer of this sensible preface has forgotten to explain in what quarter of Italy an author could so dare, with permission of a believing censor, to publish a denial of the wonders worked by the dry bones of Santa Filomena. The preface ended, the narrative begins with a chapter on the catacombs of Rome. These dark caverns are described, and truly, to have been the miserable refuge of the persecuted Christians in life, and their tombs in death: the faithful now weep over the graves of the martyrs.

Chapter II.—Treats of the mode of burial of the sacred martyrs. The Christians laid their dead in spaces excavated in the partition walls, and closed them with one stone without any inscription, with a monogram only, united sometimes to a cross. But near to the head of martyrs they placed a glass phial, or earthen vase, with as much blood therein as it was possible to collect, (if the martyrdom happened with effusion of blood,) and, in addition, the instruments of torture, if

they could succeed in procuring them. Near to the stone, or above it, they painted a palm tree, which they never omitted when it was not possible to collect the blood. Thus either the palm or the vase, and oftener both, are most certain signs, pointing out where lie the champions who died for Jesus Christ.

Chapter III.—Treats of the care taken by the faithful of old of the sepulchres of the martyrs.

Chapter IV.—Describes the mode in which are extracted from the cemeteries the sacred relics of the martyrs. It is as follows:—*La Camera Apostolica* superintends and pays liberally men of integrity who excavate in the catacombs. The winter and part of the spring is the season destined for the work. When the excavators have found a new tract, and in it sepulchres, they touch nothing under severest penalties. Their duty is at once to warn the *custode* of the sacred relics, in order to extract them under sovereign authority.

These persons take with them witnesses; they are conducted to the front of the sepulchres, and they carefully observe the stone. If the sepulchre does not present at the outside the palm, or the vase, or any inscription, although it may be impressed with the monogram, or any other Christian sign, they dismantle the walls no further, or if they do (in order to remove doubt), and yet find within no proof evident of martyrdom, they close it up to be no more touched. The bones are reputed those of a believer, probably of a saint, but not of a martyr. When one of the above mentioned certain signs is discovered, they open the sepulchre, devoutly lift out the sacred bones, and place them quickly in certain boxes prepared for the purpose; on these are imprinted the seals of the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, and the boxes are immediately carried

to the treasury of the sacred relics. They are there spread out on a large table, cleaned, and the most fragile parts which may have been longest in the tomb, become by exposure to the air, more hard. When these relics are well wiped, they are carefully examined, and every particular appearance that may present itself, noted in a kind of deposition, which is drawn up on the extraction of every sacred corpse. Finally, they distribute the relics, or they bestow the entire body on the devout, according as supreme authority disposes; taking besides the utmost care to enclose the relics, and most carefully seal them up, so that they cannot by any art, without losing their authenticity, be unsealed or broken open, except by him who has authority so to do.

Chapter V.—The body of Saint Filomena is found in the cemetery of Priscilla, and extracted thence:—

"In the glorious pontificate of Pius VII., the 25th of May, in the year of our Lord 1802, was the day destined by God to manifest to the world the name and the relics of one of his glorious martyrs. The excavators were working in the cemetery of Priscilla, famous amongst the catacombs, when they uncovered an epitaph on which stood written in vermilion, '*Lumena Pax tecum Fi,*' and under and in the midst of the writing were marked the instruments of torture and emblems of virtue. The sepulchre being opened, there stood near the head an oval glass phial containing blood. There was no doubt this was the body of a martyr. The blessed bones and the honoured ashes were devoutly extracted from the grave, and, with the usual ceremonies, carried to the treasury of the sacred relics."

Chapter VI. is conversant with the name, probable country, and age of the saint. She is of Greek extraction; is supposed to have suffered martyrdom at the

early age of fourteen; the bones shew she was a delicate and tender person. It is believed, on the authority of a pious revelation, that one of the two Cæsars, who together held the empire, burned with a passion for her, on account of her rare beauty, that Diocletian might have been he, and that the more he saw her to be chaste, the more ardently did he desire to possess her. As his wife he could not, although he might have asked her, because she was a Christian virgin, and had vowed her virginity to heaven. The barbarian, furious from love rejected, gave her up to the executioners to gratify his cruel vengeance.

After this sagacious conclusion, the writer in Chapter VII. illustrates the stone found in the sepulchre. The name *Filomena* is made out by transposition of the letters *Lumena Pax tecum Fi* into *Pax tecum Filomena*. The instruments of torture and the mode of martyrdom are described.

Chapter VIII. explains how the body of the sainted Virgin Martyr Filomena was bestowed on the priest, D. Francesco Di Lucia:—

"I have already frequently named the treasury of sacred relics. It is in Rome, the place where the bodies of the holy martyrs removed from the catacombs are deposited, as I have above said. They are preserved in sufficient abundance, in order to make precious gifts to the Catholics of the whole earth: bodies with names are more precious than those without names.

"The blessed bones of the virgin Filomena were three years anxiously guarded in the treasury of relics, with those of two other bodies having names, and bodies without names in abundance, when the priest, D. Francesco di Lucia, came to Rome. He was a man of God called from Mugnano, his country, to accompany D. Bartholomew de Cesare, chosen Bishop of Potenga, in Basilicata, to Rome, there to be conse-

crated, and to offer at the same time, in the name of Ferdinand IV. their sovereign, congratulations and homage to Pius VII. then returned from France, whither he had gone to regulate religious matters in that distracted country. They left Naples the 1st of May, 1805—the 4th reached Rome. Don Francesco, who had always the most eager desire to possess the precious relics of some Christian martyr, experienced even a more lively wish for such a possession on approaching Rome.

"On the 15th of May, he was conducted to the treasury of sacred relics; his heart palpitated at the sweet name of Filomena, and he longed to obtain her body. A difficulty arose, as there was a great scarcity of sacred corpses with names; an inferior body was given him baptized with the name of Ferma, but D. Francesco sighed for Filomena—sleep and appetite fled, and he wasted away. At last, one evening that he felt very weak, a most consoling thought suddenly seized him; he vowed that if during this night he should repose tranquilly, and should again be cured, he would choose Filomena as his advocate, and would carry her to Mugnano.

"Having so vowed, his malady suddenly vanished; he slept in peace and arose in the morning more robust than he had ever been. He went instantly to the bishop and narrated what had happened. Both considered the fact to be supernatural, and they resolved, that placing the bones of the martyr in a conspicuous place on the carriage, accompanying them with hymns and praises, they would carry them to Naples, whence D. Francesco would take the body of Filomena with him to Mugnano. To the bishop should remain the relics of Saint Ferma."

This brings the curious narrative to Chapter IX, which describes the removal of the saint's body from Rome to Naples; and herein will the reader have need of all his faith :—

"The day of departure arrived and was the first of July. The servants, not having been warned beforehand, placed the two boxes of the holy martyrs under the seat, where D. Francesco and the Bishop were to sit. The travellers had taken their places, and the carriage moved on, when suddenly hard blows strike the legs of the bishop, who incautiously sat above the bones of Filomena; he arose and commanded the box to be more tightly secured. The servants explain to him that the box is distant two feet from his legs, well tied and immovable. The bishop resumes his seat and is struck with blows more violent. He again rises, repeats his commands with some anger, when the servants make the bishop see that all is tight. He sits down for the third time, and blows more sharp force him to spring up again.

"The box is finally lifted from a place unworthy such a precious deposit. After a little the bishop remembers the promise, asks pardon of the Saint, and deposits the box in an honourable position on the carriage. They recommence their journey, and prosecute it with hymns and praises: and this event proves so prosperous for the travellers, that, although the horses tumbled down a precipice and were dashed to pieces, the carriage did not quit the road, and remained uninjured, and the passengers felt not a sensation of fear. Thus, from Rome to Naples, was conducted the sacred body of Filomena. Two miracles distinguished this first transport—miracles, the truth of which the deposition of a bishop, learned and religious, and that of a priest enlightened and pious, the presence of witnesses impartial and unprejudiced, and above all the nature of the facts—fully attest."

Chapter X.—The Saint is clothed, and put into an urn.

Chapter XI.—Removal of the body from Naples to Mugnano.

"Mugnano is a town well inhabited in Terra di Lavora, wenty miles from Naples. To this place, which was the country of D. Francesco di Lucia, he wished to carry the beloved relics of the holy virgin Filomena in joyful triumph. To effect this, he set out a day before for Mugnano, to make known with what a treasure his country in a few days would be enriched, and to exhort the peasants to receive it in the most splendid manner they were able. There was universal joy at the announcement. Don Francesco tempered the ardour of the people, fixed the 10th of August for the procession; and enjoined two robust porters should be sent forward to meet him and carry the sacred urn. On the day fixed, two lusty porters were despatched to Naples, named Liberato and Stefano; and, as they carried away the urn they joyfully exclaimed, 'Oh, how light is the Saint, she is as a feather!' But lo, storm and darkness towards evening surrounded them: Don Francesco and his companions the more warmly recommended themselves to the Saint. Suddenly the clouds were chased from the moon: she shone in a circle of serene and unusually brilliant light, her rays descending upon the urn of the Saint, preserving it from every obstruction, accompanying it during the entire journey with this light, while the rest of the world was immersed in darkness.

"Rejoicing, they moved onwards till another unexpected event inspired them with dread. On the way from Naples to Mugnano is a hamlet, which was a suburb of ancient Nola, famed for venerable temples, and for most precious relics of martyrs. It was now midnight, and the party were a mile from this hamlet, when they perceived that the urn, which in itself was very light, became weighty. They supposed they felt this from fatigue, laid the urn on the ground, and reposed; when, lo! in raising it again, it felt more heavy than at first, and as they approached the hamlet the urn became heavy as lead. The porters protested they could advance no further;

they panted as under an enormous weight. Don Francesco animated them by his zeal; but they protesting they could not carry it further, placed their burden on the earth; when, lo! another miracle occurred. From the urn, which was of ebony, issued a deep sound, which the earth re-echoed; every thing combined to fill the heart with terror—the hour, the place, the prodigy—a shivering came over all. They were dismayed: they were in doubt whether the Saint might wish to remain there, where so many martyrs were buried; Don Francesco had recourse to tears and prayers, and finally with difficulty the urn was removed from Cinitale. According as they advanced the urn became lighter. Thus they reached the country of Schiava, two miles distant. There the porters no longer felt the urn, walking, nay running; they cried out, 'A miracle, a miracle, the Saint is as light as a feather!'

"This fact, the truth of which I cannot doubt, demands a reflection. Might not this have been the country of the saint? Might she not, amongst the bones in this cemetery, have buried those of her dear parents? Might it not have pleased her that the remains of her mortal clothing should render homage to the martyrs buried there.

"The rest of the journey to Mugnano was a triumphal procession. The witnesses of the miracles recorded were too many to be deceived."

Chapter XII. narrates the miracles of the first days after the arrival of the Saint at Mugnano:—

"The 10th of August was spent in jubilee; but the first few days were not fruitful in miracles, excepting one surprising cure which was effected in a case of gout. For nine days the multitude prayed most earnestly, and the 19th was the day of great prodigies. A widow, Angela Guerrieri, had one little son, ten years old, called Modestino, a child of the sweetest disposition, well made and handsome; but the poor boy had one draw-back, his feet were not able to sustain his

body. His mother, during the mass, solemnly prostrated herself before the urn, and full of faith, prayed that the martyr would grant her earnest prayers. Behold! when the host was elevated, the child separated from her, and, with quick steps, ran to the urn to render the homage of a grateful heart. The mother, amazed at the wonder, forgets time and place, and cries out, 'A miracle, a miracle!'

"At vespers, the same evening, while Vetruno, a zealous missionary, preached in honour of the Saint, an infant was brought into the church who had become blind from a malignant small-pox, and in the opinion of the physicians was incurable. Having reached the lamps, its mother dipped her finger into the oil, and anointed the eyes of her infant. The disease disappeared suddenly, and the child opened its eyes, now lively and brilliant, exulting in the light of day. The delighted mother shouted for joy; the orator paused, and on learning the cause of the noise, and seeing the infant lifted by a priest over the balustrade in order to be shewn to the people, the fact was seized on by the preacher as an evident argument for the panegyric which he had pronounced on the Saint."

The same chapter records a third miracle.

Chapter XIII. records miraculous changes in the position of the body of the Saint, and how the relics were placed in a new chapel.

Chapter XIV. records the fervour with which the Saint was worshipped in Italy, from 1806 to 1814.

Chapter XV. is pretty much to the same effect; but in addition, describes how the chapel of the Saint was enriched with devotional offerings. The devotion and the gifts increased with the miracles, therefore,

"Whilst building the new chapel they thought of replacing the body of the holy virgin in a more splendid and precious urn. The contract was agreed on with the best artificers that

could be found : when one day, on lifting the curtain which concealed the urn, for the purpose of exposing the sacred relics to the veneration of some strangers, a wonderful prodigy struck the beholders with amazement. The saint no longer lay as in death, but was seated in a majestic manner ; her head was placed upon a cushion, her right arm on another, and the rest of her person gracefully reclining. Her left hand held a lily, and a palm was placed high upon her breast ; the whole figure at once visible to the spectators. Her hair, parted on the forehead, fell waving over her shoulders. Her face, which was compassionately turned towards the spectators, was no longer that it had at first appeared. The cheeks, before pale and thin, had become full and coloured, the aspect noble and beautiful. The sweet smile of innocence played around her lips, so that she had no longer the appearance of a damsel in death, but of an angel that sleeps.

"The fame of the prodigy soon spread. True Christians leaped for joy ; the wicked bitterly laughed, and slandered the honesty of those who had charge of the holy bones. But glory to the faith—shame to the unbelievers—the urn was carefully examined, and found to be closed up in such a way that hand of man was not able to reach or touch that which was within. Untouched remained the great seals placed there by the Bishop of Potenza, nor could it have been opened, save by one key, and this was in the hands of the *Terres* at Naples. The devotion of the people increased so much that they said the new chapel must be finished, so, on the 29th September, 1805, in the presence of the bishop and all the clergy of the country, the holy body was deposited in the new chapel in the most appropriate manner. The altar certainly was of wood, and the balustrades enclosing it, but all were assured it would soon be made of more precious materials. Thus the good Mugnanesi cherished the hope that in a short time the sanctuary would be the most celebrated amongst the celebrated.

"The chapel was elegantly adorned not only by an altar of superb workmanship, but by pillars and other works in marble, and was mystically closed in by a railing of iron, furnished with brass ornaments. As a last ornament, there was only wanted the venerated stone which had closed in the bones of Filomena in the catacomb. That stone, which had been preserved in Rome amongst the other inscriptions of the college of the Jesuits, was brought to Mugnano. Leo XII., the holy father, at the request of Salvadore and of Filippo Ludovica, bestowed it on the people of Mugnano the 4th of August, 1817. The present was received with delight, and the sacred monument put into a frame richly gilt, and placed close to the chapel. A marble slab underneath recommended the gift and the giver to the remembrance of posterity.

"But now the thread of my story recalls me to the narration of other events, which will rejoice the hearts of my faithful readers."

Chapter XVI., new miracles.

"From the year 1814 to the present time, the devotion towards the sacred martyr has become greater, and, new miracles constantly happening, have increased the number and the fervour of the faithful. It is not possible to venerate this urn without believing that not only the bones, but also the living body of the holy Virgin, may have its abode therein. The change of position was not the only change of the sacred body which occurred. Those eyes which slept the sleep of the just were opened more than once: and more than once those beautiful eyeballs were seen to shine. Well did Maria Masuccio know this. This woman of advanced age, believed not the many persons who asserted they had seen the eyes of the saint to open in time of public and private prayer, and considered these but vain phantasies of their warm imaginations. She stood one day with such thoughts before the altar, and, looking towards the urn, said

within herself, 'How could the saint open her eyes, if she had nothing under her closed eyelids; and if she did open her eyes to others, why not open them to me?' She had scarce finished this incautious speech when she saw the holy martyr open widely both eyes, and cast on her a look severe and disdainful, then suddenly recompose them in the sleep of peace. At such a sight she nearly fainted through fear, a shivering seized her, hardly had she breath to call for aid; and this woman, who at first uttered foolish doubts of this miracle, which others averred they had seen, testified that to her shame and fear, she had seen for herself, and (writes Don F. Lucia) although twenty-three years have elapsed since the fact occurred, she ceases not to narrate it to all, to the glory of the holy virgin and martyr Filomena. This prodigy was renewed in 1828, and the priest of Airola (a most devout ecclesiastic) *more than ten times saw it*, and *two other ecclesiastics three times saw it with him*, also three laymen of Mugnano. Other miracles occurred respecting the hair of the saint. On the 12th of June, 1824, it happened, on the uncovering of the urn, that a portion of the hair, which at first seemed a little band falling on the left shoulder, had greatly increased in its length and thickness. This sight renewed amongst men of little or no faith their ancient suspicions; they doubted an imposition; they visited afresh the urn, and found it, as before, impenetrable to mortal hands."

A new prodigy occurred with this wonderful hair. It grew in length, as if on the head of a living woman, and, by little and little, it increased so much, that it was necessary to open the urn to gather it up on the shoulders, and the *custode* of the saint yet writes up to the 31st of August, 1833.

"The hairs have grown beyond three palms since the urn was sealed, and, if it be ever opened again, it will be for the

purpose of cutting some off. The hairs changed colour also, and from auburn became perfectly black. From these facts one may conjecture, as Monsignore De Poveda learnedly observed, that the saint suffered some painful or disgraceful punishment through the medium of her hair. Thus God, who promised by the mouth of his divine Son, that he would not leave without reward even a hair of the head of those who might be for him exposed to persecution, may have glorified the hair of the holy virgin Filomena."

Chapter XVIII. relates how wonderfully the statue of the saint, made of wood, *sweated*. The fluid was saved, examined, and all agreed it was a miraculous sweat. This marvellous event naturally propagated the worship of the saint extensively, as narrated in

Chapter XIX. With reason, then, did the learned Monsignore de Poveda appropriate to her that which had been already written of St. Agostina.

"The body lay hid for a long period of time, but afterwards, when it pleased God to bring it into the light of day, it illuminated the world with mighty prodigies, because it lives and is not dead."

A succession of miracles are here narrated; but they are of the same character with those already mentioned, and, although sufficiently startling, do not require specification.

Chapter XX. has a short dissertation on the miracles wrought by the saint, and concludes thus:—

"Whosoever, therefore, addresses to her his devotions may hope from her every favour, now especially whilst it appears that God, in order to raise her to the highest glory, has made her the dispenser of celestial grace. Whosoever hereafter

may dare to insult her, let him read over these pages, and he will find his rebuke."

Chapter XXI. records the favours obtained by those who had recourse to her with devout services and invoked her name. Twelve miracles are told; one only I shall extract.

"A putrid and malignant fever, and moreover an erysipelas, with cancer in the leg, had, in the year 1832, reduced to the last degree, Il Signor Carlo Cerascevlo, of Cupis: in the desperation of his case he turned himself with faith to the holy martyr. The night after she presented herself to him in a dream, all beautiful as in life, and said, 'Fear not, thou art cured.'"

Chapters XXII. and XXIII. record the favour obtained by means of images and relics of the saint, and Chapter XXIV. the prodigious blessings conceded by the saint to children called by her name.

"One child, Filomena, daughter of Maria and Niccoli Canonico, was playing one day near an oven, when most unexpectedly the door of it fell and cut off the little toe of the child's foot. The pain caused the poor child to fall down in a faint. It was carried to bed, and during the night, whilst all slept, behold the holy martyr appeared to her, compassionately kissed her, and said, 'Dear Filomena, have no fear—say to your mother not to weep, I will cure thee.' The child awoke her mother and all the house, and with those lips, incapable of deceit, ingenuously explained in such a way as a child only can, the vision of the saint, the words, the caress, the promise, and so for many nights; when two days before a *festa* (a holy-day) the little Filomena awoke with the toe perfect on her foot; a miracle differing from the last, and from all the others, because it was to be a perpetual memorial of the affection of her tutelary saint."

Chapter XXVI. records fatal things experienced by persons who have scorned the saint.

"A dropsical woman was, in 1832, so reduced that she could no longer hope for life. Some of her sorrowing friends inquiring had she recourse to St. Filomena, she answered 'No!' They suggested to her the piety of anointing herself with the oil of the saint's lamp, and of making to her some vow; she promised that if cured she would present her an ornament of pearls that would cost forty ducats. The oil was procured, the woman anointed, and in a few days cured. In great joy she shewed herself to every one in recovered health, but she forgot her promise. Many times her friends, and also zealous priests, reminded her of her vow, and she, although rich, refused, protesting that on every festa day she would give a ducat. Two days afterwards she wished to sell certain wine, but found it all spoiled; other wine that was of a rare quality was spilt to the number of fifty barrels. But still the foolish woman (although warned) would not change her resolution. Finally the dropsy returned again, and in a few days the ungrateful woman was conducted to her grave."

Chapter XXVII., which finishes the book, describes how the worship of the saint spread in Tuscany, and especially in Florence. The author writes:—

"I do not wish to close these memoirs, without telling with how much ardour in our country, where with learning and civilization true piety has ever existed, the devotion was propagated and established of the holy Virgin and martyr Filomena. Who knows but that those who may succeed us, struck by the miracles which have been wrought, and finding in their houses *novene*,* memoirs, and images of the Saint, will seek to discover the manner in which this citizen of heaven

* A course of prayer to be used for nine days.

began to have public and solemn worship in Florence? Let them know then, that men solicitous for their country's good, while they preserved amongst us in full force the ancient faith, yet, instigated by the miracles which have taken place, established this new worship amongst the people. Let them know, that so much has our affection for the Saint increased, (with few people could it have so quickly spread,) that images of her are distributed to thousands; and to thousands the *novene*, and in great numbers her memoirs. Let them know, that in the meanwhile the happy thought suggested itself to the heart of some zealous priest, of celebrating in honour of the martyr a solemn festival in the Church of St. Michele Vis Domine over which they preside; and of having painted, by the skilful pencil of Carlo della Porta, a picture of her to be placed in a beautiful tabernacle; and that quickly, they had the help of increased numbers, who offered themselves spontaneously as assistants to this pious work. They may know, that so rapidly did the numbers of these increase, that a congregation called after Saint Filomena was established, which in a moment increased in an unexampled manner, and was quickly adorned by names distinguished in every rank. Let them know, that at that time, to those who were prepared to celebrate the solemn festival, ran together a congregation who wished that in future years they might have perpetually entrusted to them this delightful duty. That all being then with good sense arranged, a course of spiritual exercises were established to precede each festival, for the purpose of improving the morals of the faithful, and rendering them more worthy of the protection of the Saint. Also, it was decided, that this festival should take place on the second Sunday after Easter, and be solemnized with the greatest possible pomp."

"Thus on the 13th of April of the ensuing year will be seen in Florence, for the first time, the solemn festival celebrated to the memory of the holy virgin and martyr Filo-

mena, and her praises will be heard from the lips of P. Francesco Finetti, one of the Society of the Jesuits, whose pulpit eloquence is beyond all praise. We ourselves may gain those indulgences so liberally conceded by his holiness Pope Gregory XVI., by venerating a relic so precious, and satisfying our eyes by gazing upon the beautiful picture of the saint; and, moreover, I hold the confident belief that soon the tabernacle and the picture will be adorned with offerings, a source of much gratitude at the present, as well as of hope for future years. We shall not have the merit of being the first in the order of time to honour the holy virgin and martyr Filomena; but the praise we can have of not being second to any, in the fervour of our veneration."

Thus did the author write in the first edition of these memoirs. In a second edition, more recently published, from which I have translated, he adds:—

"Never could I have anticipated the success which has crowned my wishes. I ought to offer solemn testimony, not only to Florence, but to all Tuscany, declaring that no province of Italy can boast of having turned with more zeal and fervour to render a tribute of glory to the renowned virgin and martyr Filomena. The world knows how the tribute of public and solemn veneration has been offered to her in Florence; how all the people of devout Tuscany contend with each other in erecting altars and dedicating to her private chapels, and even churches; in having pictures painted of her holy image; in celebrating festivals; in drawing together under her protection numerous congregations; in a word, signifying to her by every proof their reverence and love."

The work concludes with an appendix of miraculous revelations made by the martyr, and of prodigies, the account of which was not comprised in the preceding narrative.

I have thus given a compressed translation of the narrative published of Saint Filomena. There is no doubt it has gained implicit belief not only amongst a considerable class of the Florentines, but of the Italians generally, especially in the kingdom of Naples, where Filomena is a favourite saint.

An illustrious lady in Florence, the near relative of the King of Naples, has shewn a marked reverence for the memory of Filomena; and so her veneration is fashionable, and belief in her miracles avowed by the Court.

A casual observer would suppose the Florentine people to be well educated, accustomed to exercise and cultivate the reasoning faculties. The total absence of periodical literature makes it the more important to discover the style and character of the books written on religious subjects. Such a publication as "The History of Saint Filomena" reflects light on the character, education, and mental culture of the people. In this view, and for the reasons before mentioned, and not for the purpose of scoffing, I have given a summary of a book which I read with amazement.

Most astonishing is it to find individuals of a respectable walk in life, educated for the priesthood in a Christian church, and holding no mean rank in that church, with perfect gravity and apparent belief, recording, as if usual, prodigies and miracles which confound the reason of man, and suspend, or set at nought, the laws of nature. It is painful to observe the Church of Rome sanctioning these startling tales, as if necessary to the maintenance of her power in Italy, all belief in which is rejected by her enlightened congregations, and would be repelled with scorn by several Roman Catholic countries in Europe. The result may be prejudicial to the church itself, for men, when sufficiently

enlightened to shake off belief in such fables as recorded by Don Francesco di Lucia, may unhappily at the same time become sceptics in regard to the fundamental truths which the Church of Rome holds.

It may not be unsuitable to hazard a few remarks on the effect which a confident belief in miracles, as almost of daily occurrence, may be likely to produce on the character of a people. Blind credulity in things spiritual must naturally affect the understanding in its judgment of things temporal. The man who surrenders his reason in silly amazement at the extravagant assertions of priests, can scarce be expected to evince sound sense in his consideration of moral and political questions, when propounded by the same persons. They, he must believe, are somehow in connexion with supernatural agencies, and entitled to an ascendency in his mind, altogether independent of their talents, or learning, or love of truth. Thus a chair of state, as Bacon expresses it, is erected in the understanding, and a power acquired over the mind of man, beyond that possessed by the most absolute prince. He can only control the body, but fails frequently to command the wills and affections of men. The giving up the reasoning faculty to the keeping of others, is the prostration of the whole intellectual man. It is, moreover, a melancholy truth, that those who have gained an ascendency over the spirits and souls of men will seldom resign it.

When the power of observing or detecting facts as they are is put aside, the individual is prepared to listen with a greedy ear to the marvellous, and to resign the protection which the evidence of his senses might afford him. Incapacitated from discerning between the rhapsodies of heated enthusiasts and the arguments of

cool, impartial reason, he prefers what is most absurd, provided it be marvellous, to the sober statements of truth. Enfeebled in mind, from the habit of believing preposterous inventions, he cannot be expected to grapple manfully with the difficulties, or discover the truths, and separate the falsehoods involved in any of the mixed questions affecting the moral and political advancement of the human race. The credulous dupe is very likely to become the unresisting slave, and so, up to the present day, we see the Florentine posterity of a bold and free ancestry, exhibiting, publicly, little dignity of character or manliness of thought. The only badges of freedom left to the gay Florentines, are the venerable halls, wherein their brave and skilful ancestors met to deliberate and speak as men. These polished people, without periodical literature, a free press, or a single free institution, resemble, at present, grown school-boys under the rod of a kind and amiable master. Yet I am confident there is such a number of able and enlightened men in Tuscany, and especially among the commercial people of Leghorn, that, if any event should afford the opportunity, a great amelioration of the existing despotism would be obtained. The preaching of another Savonarola would touch the hearts of the Florentines as with a spell. Above all, if the restrictions on the press were removed, and thinking men allowed to print their thoughts, intellectual activity would ensue, and I have no doubt the narrative of Filomena would be speedily and severely refuted, and very probably by the tolerant and learned priest to whom I have referred. Should the ecclesiastics be removed from the Board of Censors, I am certain no third edition of this fabulous book would be published without receiving a crushing reply.

CHAPTER IX.

TUSCANY.

The Priests and the Monks.—Church Establishment.—English Chapel in Florence.—Leghorn.—Greek Church, and Jewish Synagogue.—Sufferance not Toleration.—The Principle of the Tuscan Government intolerant.—Pisa and Mrs. Trollope.—Suggestion to Englishwomen in Italy.

THE religion of the Tuscan people forces itself every hour upon your notice, if "kneeling be morality, and prayers religion," the Florentines are the most moral and religious population in the world; that of Rome only excepted. Most unfortunately we are settled near to a celebrated convent, the monks of which are permitted to disturb their unoffending neighbours, morn, noon, and night, by the everlasting ringing of their bells. It amounts to a positive nuisance; there can be no possible objection to these sturdy ecclesiastics torturing themselves, but that they should unnecessarily torment others, is unfeeling. Many a sleepless night have they caused me. The number of priests and monks which cross your path every instant startles the most casual observer. My friend, the priest, quite agrees with me as to the vexatious custom of perpetual bell-ringing, and adds, he thinks the forms in the Roman Catholic Church too numerous, and no sane person in Italy can be of a different opinion. As to the monks, they are detested by the priests in general, and my informant

adds they are very ignorant and useless, except the order of the Franciscans, whom he praises. With respect to the number of priests, he says that it is not surprising, for many entered the priesthood to gain a provision; in a family consisting of two sons, one almost invariably becomes a priest, *because there is nothing else for him to do.* His father wished, he said, to make a monk of him, but he revolted, and became a priest—a more agreeable and gentleman-like profession. Observing our hostess to be a devout woman, each morning at six punctual at mass, and seeming, at the same time, to relish the monks, we were tempted to inquire from her the reason; she quietly answered, the people generally prefer the monks to the priests, because they are more moral and strict in their lives; for example, she says she knows the priest who resides next door to us has a family of four children. If this be true, it helps to solve the reason of the existence of two numerous bodies of ecclesiastics at the same moment in this small state. But I should think the low birth, vulgar habits, and imperfect education of the monks, also give them an advantage over the priests with the mass of the people; the monks are everywhere, mix freely with the lower classes, are more superstitious, enthusiastic, and fanatical, than it is possible for a tolerably educated priesthood to be; consequently, over the minds of the masses, nearly on a level with themselves, they exercise a great and yet a natural influence, and this wholly irrespective of the form of government. The vulgar admire ascetics.

There are, I believe, forty nunneries in Florence, an enormous number for so small a place. Throughout Tuscany there are convents of monks with a provision, 45; nunneries, 67; convents of mendicants, 50—

total, 162. The whole population of Tuscany was in 1809 but a million and a quarter, and in so small a state the monks had an income of 400,000*l.* per annum, a prodigious sum when estimated as equal to 800,000*l.* in England. Their numbers then were about 17,000. During the ascendency of the French in Italy, of course, these convents, or nearly all of them, were suppressed. Instead of adhering to the wise system of Napoleon, and following out his Italian policy, which in many things might have been done to the permanent advantage of the country, the monastic orders in Tuscany were restored in 1814, when ancient abuses were re-established by the hand of power; but as it was not practicable to give the monks their landed property which had been alienated, a sum, it is said, amounting to near 900,000*l.* as capital was allotted for their support. The table above given from Von Raumer's book, classifies the convents. According to the same authority, which, on reference to other books I believe to be nearly exact, the number of monks having a provision is 1150; the number of nuns equally circumstanced, 4200; the number of mendicant monks, 1400—total, 6750. The secular clergy, Von Raumer enumerates at 7000 priests, 3000 other clergy — total, 10,000. This is 1100 more than specified by other returns I have seen; but Von Raumer appears to have attended more carefully to these statistical inquiries than to the galleries of art, and may reasonably be depended on. There are three archbishops, and seventeen bishops, in Tuscany. It is stated the income of the secular clergy derived from real property amounts to 70,000*l.* per annum, and the grant from the government to 94,100*l.* annually.

We have in Von Raumer a very interesting and

valuable table respecting the shares of the different branches of the clergy in property derived from land, and the quantity of landed property in the hands of the clergy.

	Lire
Simple benefices derive from landed property a Net Income of	429,000
Benefices binding to residence	327,000
Fraternities	14,000
Convents of Monks	542,000
Nuns	594,000
Bishops	301,000
Churches	46,000
Parsonages	1,144,000
Charitable Institutions	391,000
Total	3,788,000
In our money this amounts to about	£126,333

If the domains be added, there is about one-eighth of the landed property immovable in the same hands. And let it be remembered, according to the scale of living, it is said 600*l.* per annum in Tuscany is equivalent to 1800*l.* per annum in England. Thus a munificent endowment in this small Roman Catholic country is provided for the ecclesiastical bodies; the population of Tuscany amounting at most to 1,500,000.

A great deal is flippantly said about the freedom shewn to other religions in this vaunted land of toleration. I wish it were true. There is no doubt a spacious building is now erected in Florence by the English for Protestant worship; and the Grand-Duke deserves praise for having permitted the erection of this fabric, despite much opposition. The very fact that resistance was made to the building a church for Protestant worship shews plainly religious toleration is not

understood in Tuscany, and the fact that permission was granted does not prove religious freedom is sanctioned by the State; for, had it been withheld, probably the English, or many of them, might have deserted Florence, whereas the existence of their church is a great inducement to remain. But how was this permission given? It was accompanied with many restrictions and many stipulations; the very size of the windows was specified, and the police saw the agreement rigidly performed; it was especially forbidden *that the exterior of the building should have the appearance of a church;* it must resemble an ordinary house, and no bell would be tolerated. Under these strict stipulations the church was raised. It may not seem very important what the form of the building was, but it sheds light on the religious toleration of the country. Everywhere through Italy the priests are peremptory in their denial of the Protestants having any spiritual church, and in harmony with this unimportant theological absurdity, they never suffer the eyes of the faithful to be shocked by the aspect of a building for Lutheran worship having the exterior character of a church. Leghorn is perhaps an exception to this rule, but it proves its generality; the object of the Tuscan government has long been to make Leghorn a place of trade, and so, for the purpose of drawing money into their coffers, they suffer many congregations of worshippers here to exist, which would not be tolerated elsewhere. I think there is something incredibly mean in this, for if their principle was right it should be acted on universally, and not relaxed from love of money. In Leghorn a cupola, I believe, is now erecting over the English Church on the principle explained.

I visited here the Jewish Synagogue and the Greek

Church; it is impossible to enter a synagogue without a feeling of emotion in remembering this was once the favoured Church of God.

The worship is simple and certainly addressed to a Spirit:—the oldest religion in the world, still the same, unmoved by the storms of persecution, unsubdued by reason, unaffected by revelation. The Greek Church is beautiful, and belongs to the branch of the Eastern Church not in communion with the Church of Rome. Examining the books used in their service, I found a Greek Testament on one desk,—the Psalms in Greek in another. Asking our conductor, who was a Greek, could he read it, he very quickly ran over the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. The Greeks in Leghorn, he said, all understood it perfectly: the quantity of Scripture read each Sabbath is equivalent to about that read in our churches, and the same may be said of the Psalms. The dresses of the priests are superb. There are no images allowed, but some few paintings not remarkable; the arrangement of the church is convenient. The Greek laity in Leghorn exceed 200: in receiving the sacrament they take the cup. The conductor beckoned me to follow him to a small apartment behind the church, where lay, in a superb coffin, the body of a Russian prince, lamps were burning at the head and feet. The remains were to be removed to Russia for interment. My visit to the Greek Church was highly interesting.

We have seen that Jews and Protestants are suffered to worship in one or two places; but to comprehend what the pretensions of Tuscany to the character of being tolerant are, we must inquire what licence there is for Tuscan people to think as free men, or dissent on religious subjects. The answer to these

important inquiries must be, there is no liberty allowed in Tuscany to express free thoughts, or dissent openly from the Roman Catholic religion. I apprehend a Tuscan must quit his country, if he dared to change his faith; and, on the best inquiry I believe, the dissenter never would be employed by the government, and if he held office would be instantly deprived of it for his presumptuous heresy.

There is no difference of opinion on religious subjects allowed or exercised practically. A quiet yet rigid system of exclusion prevents that effectually. No better proof can be given of the intolerance of the system, than the existence of a barbarous law forbidding a Tuscan Roman Catholic to intermarry with a Protestant. A lawful marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic can only be accomplished through the means of a special dispensation from the Pope himself, which is never granted except on the terms of bringing up the children in the Roman Catholic religion. In considering the criminal code of Tuscany, I shall explain the punishment prescribed for the crime of *heresy*. It is by the laws of a country we are to pronounce whether toleration exists; not by the guarded courtesy evinced to foreigners. That there is amongst the higher classes much religious indifference is believed, but the secret unbelief is preferable to open dissent; the church is not scandalized. Mrs. Trollope in describing Pisa has introduced the name of Mademoiselle Calandrine, and eulogised her exertions in the cause of education. She writes:—

"He then told me a story of a foreign lady, a Swiss, I think, who had for years been devoting herself to the improvement of the lower classes of Pisa. By his account this benevolent person, whose name, if I remember rightly, was

Mademoiselle Calandrine, appears to have been as wise as kind, cautiously avoiding the giving offence by shocking the opinions, either religious or civil, of those around her, she made it so evident that her sole object was to do good, that even the priests, from whom, as a Protestant, she had, in the first instance, received many rebuffs, soon seemed rather inclined to second than oppose her efforts. Our intelligent informant told us, moreover, that this Swiss lady had been thus occupied for many years, and that the effects of her labours were distinctly visible to all who knew Pisa well."

A dangerous panegyric. When in Pisa I inquired whether this excellent lady was making the rapid progress in her work of benevolence, which the passage quoted led me to expect. Mademoiselle Calandrine has ceased from her labours, she was very successful in dispelling ignorance, the alarm was taken, her establishments were dispersed, and she herself, as I was informed, obliged to quit Pisa; another proof of the true character of the best government now existing in the peninsula. I cannot help adding a remark upon the indiscretion of some well-meaning English individuals, in attempting to introduce into Italy religious tracts, which are either seized by the police, or, if they escape the custom-house and are distributed, are sure to bring the distributor into trouble. The same course has also been attempted with the Scriptures. Now this is mistaken zeal; first, because it is against the positive law of these countries; and secondly, because useless and imprudent. Nations will never be converted by such desultory, ill-directed efforts, and strangers have no right, where the law forbids it, clandestinely to tamper with the religion of the people amongst whom they choose to sojourn; our efforts should be directed to obtain the alteration of the law which prohibits the

Scriptures being admitted. The influence of a pure life, virtuous example, charitable dispositions, justice, and liberality may effect something. The progress of education, the increasing intercourse of nations, and the augmenting power of opinion more. From these causes an amelioration at least may be expected; from the means referred to, nothing. The hope of Abbé Newman to convert the English people, by the aid of the Propaganda and the Jesuits, is not more futile.*

* The concluding observations have been written in consequence of a conversation I had with a pious and excellent chaplain of the Church of England resident in Italy.

CHAPTER X.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS OF TUSCANY.

PART I.

Prefatory Observations.—Turchetti's Essay.—No History as yet written of Benevolent Institutions of Tuscany.—Its Value.—Reflections on the proper Application of charitable Aid in Relief of the Miseries of the People.—The Author's Division of his Subject.—Charitable Institutions described with occasional Remarks.—Questions of political Economy touched on.—Discovery of Causes of Italian Immorality.—A clear Insight into Italian Life and Morals.—Protestantism arraigned.—Bowring's Views noticed.—Fearful Results of Foundling Hospitals proved by Tables of Mortality.—Reflections.—Picture of an Austrian Hospital for masked Women.—Morality of Vienna.—Evils which poison domestic Happiness in Italy, and encourage Crime, traced to their Source.

"Genuine benevolence will overflow on all that need."

It ought to be more interesting to inquire into the nature, origin, and number of the charitable institutions existing amongst a civilised people, than to ascertain what pictures they may have painted, or even what battles they may have won. The history of these institutions in the Middle Ages sheds light on the character, dispositions, and piety of the Italian nation; proves how a people, free amidst all their divisions and struggles, exhibit, with perhaps great vices, exalted virtues. If their passions are strong,

their generosity is unbounded, and although their religion may be tinctured with superstition, yet it conducts to great works of piety or atonement. It is also useful to be informed, if the charitable institutions of Tuscany are to be traced to the period, when free and brilliant commonwealths flourished in Italy. Possibly we may find, the germs of the best of our own benevolent societies existed in Tuscany centuries before they were known by us. A brief examination into these remarkable institutions may also enable us to estimate their effect on the morality and habits of the Tuscan people, and it may prove that some charitable institutions, meant for the encouragement of virtue and protection of life, have damaged morality and destroyed life, and so the right application of practical benevolence may be learned. No guide-book or book of travels that I have seen gives any satisfactory account of the benevolent institutions of Tuscany. The mass of travellers care little about them; the subject is not so attractive as the fine arts; many, however, who travel, and many as wise who stay at home, may desire to know something on these interesting subjects. An Italian is best fitted to describe the charitable institutions of his country. Accordingly, I shall introduce Signor Turchetti,* who, possibly, owing to the censorship in Florence, preferred publishing his matter originally in Paris, although in the Italian language. The French take a deep interest in the statistics of Italy, and an account of the charitable institutions of Tuscany would be sure to find readers in Paris. The author begins by explaining his idea of the book.

"Six years ago we published a series of letters upon the state of elementary instruction and literature of

* I met with Signor Turchetti's book in Pisa.

Tuscany, we had entertained the idea, not even now abandoned, of continuing our communications upon her moral, economical, commercial, and material position, thereby presenting to the public view an exact picture of what Tuscany actually is. We, however, now give but a summary of the institutions of public beneficence in our duchy; it is a new subject. The people of the Middle Ages exhibited that exuberance of charity and exalted sense of religion which the present generation view with amazement. They felt likewise the stings of remorse, insomuch, that the greater part of the ancient institutions of public beneficence in Tuscany sprang from the remorse of great sinners. I am amazed that in this century, in which books are written upon so many subjects, no one has undertaken to write a complete history of Italian benevolent institutions, many of which have been by foreigners copied from Italy. Of that number are Sunday schools, and those for the general instruction of the young, asylums for children, penitentiary prisons, discounting and saving banks, and societies for mutual succour and promotion of industry, assurance companies, and lunatic asylums.

"Charity divides itself into two classes, namely, that of relief, and that of education; these, combined, form a third class, *instructive charity*, this is of universal excellence, its aim is sacred, as also its origin and effects; we cannot so speak of *assistant charity;* all systems of relief, however well intended, if badly managed, produce contrary results to those expected; by wrongly distributing alms, economical disorder is increased, and pauperism aggravated.

"The vital problems respecting the best mode of relieving poverty and distributing public succour, are

subjects worthy the study alike of princes, economists, the clergy, and the people.

The subject will be divided into two classes, each class into two parts, and each part into the same number of chapters.

The chapters are intended to mark the different kinds of institutions. Beginning with the birth of man, we shall, in the first chapter, consider and describe the halls of maternity. These are annexed to, or included in, the hospitals of Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, Pistoja, Siena, and Arezzo. Our fathers, mindful of the physical protection of the young, opportunely provided, that gratuitous assistance of midwives, doctors, and surgeons should be granted to every woman upon the eve of bringing to light, or who had already brought forth, a new citizen. They wished also that a convenient hall should be attached to every principal hospital to afford a refuge to poor women who, upon the eve of becoming mothers, might not have the conveniences indispensable to accomplish that solemn act of nature. In the above mentioned cities there exist large and well-regulated rooms for the purpose. Women are admitted upon producing a certificate of advanced pregnancy and poverty. Nurses are also provided for the children, if the mothers are not physically capable of nourishing their offspring. If capable, they are maintained in a convenient house, and if their children die another child is procured for the mother to bring up, and the day they are dismissed from these asylums, they receive some token of public or private charity. In order that this species of public charity might be doubly useful, our government adopted the idea of opening a theoretical and practical school of midwifery, which was established in 1815, and it was ordained that each community of Tuscany

should send alternately, at their expense, a pupil of good morals, and well instructed, to learn the profession of *accoucheur*.

" Having been thus taught for eighteen months, these pupils are enabled advantageously to practise their professions: in this way is it provided that in the duchy no female, who is on the eve of becoming a mother, be without the medical assistance she may require.*

CHAPTER II.—INSTITUTION FOR RELIEF OF CASES OF CONCEALED PREGNANCY.

" Christian charity here thought of assisting the unfortunate without inquiring into the origin of their calamity. In the year 1372, *Nicolo degli Alberti, surnamed the Father of the Afflicted*, founded a noble institution (*Orbatello*), meant to offer gratuitous shelter to poor widows, women abandoned by their husbands, those marriageable without parents, or those waxing old, and to give admission to young women who had been deserted, and thus exposed to misery. As the establishment became too limited, Leopold, in 1774, resolved not only to provide more comfortably for poor old women, then admitted to the number of fifty-four, but also to provide for the many wants of the other class of females, by adding forty rooms, a large hall, kitchen, and gardens, and two separate apartments, one for the midwife, and the other for the spiritual teacher. The foregoing improvements having been effected in 1775, the same prince appointed the commissary of the *Innocenti* Hospital to superintend the institutions, under the obligation of keeping pro-

* Many benevolent individuals regret that a similar assistance is not supplied in England, and court the introduction of the law of Tuscany in this respect.

foundly secret the admission and egress, name, and family of each female admitted. At present, as in 1775, in this division of the hospital (we will speak of widows elsewhere), they are received, provided they be not married, or a widow, and participate not only in physical assistance required by women in their condition, but also receive moral instruction; nor do the good effects of this charitable institution, reviled by the sophistical philosophy of Protestants, with Malthus at their head, cease here. When the young women, received into the institution of *Orbetello*, sincerely repent, they are, by the commissary, sent to other charitable asylums, generally to that of *Convertite di san Gallo*, whence, when reformed and instructed in suitable occupations, and so enabled to provide honestly for their subsistence, they are dismissed, and return into the mass of society. The greater part lead, thenceforward, exemplary lives; others are received in the *Innocenti* (Foundling) Hospital as nurses for a year, or as attendants, staying therein as long as they please.

CHAPTER III.—THE INNOCENTI FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

"In latter times many able arguments have been urged for and against the utility of such institutions. The measures, perhaps too benevolent, taken by Catholic countries, and those too severe adopted by Protestant kingdoms, have been respectively blamed and defended.

"It appears, however, extremes in this, as in all other social questions, are faulty, and that a too easy admittance, as also an absolute abandonment of the foundling, are both dangerous and contrary to the spirit of charity. It is not possible to remedy by any positive

law the evil of the exposure of children, nor can it be effected by the suppression of Foundling Hospitals. In this manner the voice of charity is silenced, but at the same time that of nature is stifled. Infanticides will increase, and if children can no longer be deposited in the wheel of the Foundling Hospital, they will be left at the doors of the priests' houses or in the public streets.

"The Baron Degerando proposes to suppress the wheel, and to substitute open admission into the hospitals, subject to investigation. By this system it is expected to effect a saving in the public expenses, in the waste of life, and to establish a more perfect moral economy.

"I now give an account of the Foundling Hospitals in Tuscany.

"For all the chief compartments of the duchy there are Foundling Hospitals (*Befrotofi*), with a wheel. Foundlings are also received in many hospitals in third-rate towns, whence they are sent either to the nearest Foundling Hospital or the central one of Florence, or consigned to a decent family in the country. The hospital of Florence receives annually about 1000, and those of Pisa, Leghorn, Siena, Arezzo, and Pistoja, more than 300, the first has a family of more than 7000 individuals, those of Pistoja and Siena more than 1000 each, and that of Pisa 3500.

"The manner of admission is the following:—at midnight the midwives and their confidants carry the newly born infants to a wheel, which all our foundling hospitals possess, placed behind a window of the establishment, with an iron grating, which will admit but infants a few days old, so conveniently placed, that no one can be ignorant of its situation or use; the infant

being laid in the wheel, the bell attached to it gives notice to the porter; some conventional signs, which are carefully preserved, notify if the child has been baptized, and some token signifies the rank of the infant, to whom is given a name and the number of the hospital. The police, with the help of the midwives and parish priests, seek to ascertain if the exposed infant comes from parents legally married, in which case they are obliged to retake it; these researches, though sometimes successful in the country, are in cities attended with so much difficulty, that, generally speaking, they prove ineffectual. Thus in Tuscany, by reason of the facility with which infants are received in the *Orbetello* hospital, we have nearly succeeded in preventing infanticide. There are amongst us (which is a very different thing) attempts to effect abortion, but very few, if any, cases of infanticide are to be met with in the proceedings of the courts of justice. The number of exposed children has, however, greatly increased, and of course the expense of their support; in fact, the annual average number of foundlings in Tuscany is 2593, or one in twenty of legitimate births. With respect to this proportion, which seldom varies, we must observe, first, that many illegitimate infants come from States on the confines of Tuscany, where there are no wheels; and secondly, that many foundlings are the offspring of married parents, proved by the fact that the moment infantile asylums were instituted during the past year (1841), 623 poor children in the *Innocenti* hospital were reclaimed by their parents, or in the proportion of one to sixteen, the number of foundlings in all our hospitals (which in 1825 was 10,194), has been continually increasing, and the causes thereof are, first, an augmentation in

the population of the state, which from a million that it numbered towards the end of the past century, now numbers nearly a million and a half; secondly, the improvement effected in our hospitals, which Bowring, the Englishman, declared were prejudicial to the public morals, pernicious, costly, and not a check to infanticide; thirdly, natural system of suckling; fourthly, sending children into the country; fifthly, diffused inoculation. The result of these improvements is manifest, as there is no nation, however civilized, where the mortality of foundlings is so limited, and no country like Tuscany, where children abandoned to public charity grow up in industry. There are in attendance nurses to render assistance to infants newly arrived; the sick, when recovered, are sent into the villages with their nurses to peasants families, under the vigilance of the parish priest and doctor, who are bound each month to grant a certificate of the good health of the nurse and infant, a necessary document to enable the woman to receive her wages. The nurse is bound to have the infant inoculated, and the hospital to administer medicines in case of sickness. If the child is ill-used, it is sent to another family. Males are maintained for ten years, females fourteen. If the latter behave themselves when grown up, in the event of their marrying, they receive a small dowry of from twenty to thirty scudi; and whenever they are in want, and have not ceased to belong to the institution, they find a bed and food in the hospital. Foundlings of both sexes are provided with a book, in which is marked the state of their conduct whilst they are under the care of the parish priests and rectors of public establishments. The boys are sent to honest journeymen to learn trades. Thus, without adopting the reprehensible idea of form-

ing exposed children into a special colony (as some writers have inconsiderately proposed to do), they mix with society, and in that manner easily cancel the stain of their birth.

"Our capital preceded that of France in the institution of foundling hospitals, they having existed in Tuscany previous to 1193. In 1811 the *Innocenti* Foundling Hospital of Florence underwent a very important reform. From that time the system commenced of giving exposed children to country nurses, and suckling in the hospital was abolished shortly afterwards. Robust and moral nurses were chosen for the purpose, and were permitted, provided they lead an irreproachable life, to retain the charge of the child, teaching it to provide honestly for its own subsistence. Should the peasants not treat their pupils well, or the latter behave ill, they are either placed under the charge of more suitable families or recalled to the central establishment, where with paternal gentleness they are corrected, and then employed in rural occupations near the city,—the females in domestic affairs and occupations. When these have procured a suitable situation they receive from the hospital a donation of forty dollars." So far Signor Turchetti.

I have given a full account of the hospitals for reception of foundlings in Tuscany, but to enable the reader to form a correct judgment upon the utility of such institutions and their effects, and so to estimate the value of our author's opinions, it is essential to add tables of the statistics of mortality during four several periods of ten years, in the great hospital of the Innocents in Florence. These were abstracted by me from a work published in that city, entitled *Notizie di Firenze.*

"31st December, 1800, there were in hospital 2008 in-

fants; introduced from 1801 to 1810, the number of 10,381: total, 12,389: died in hospital, 6247; died out of doors, 2345; restored to parents, 870; married, 405; put to tutelage, 404. Total number of issues, 10,380, leaving in hospital, 2009. From 1811 to 1820, admitted 12,169, which with 2009, made 14,178; died in hospital, 3176; died out of the hospital, 5129; residue, 4000 in hospital.

"From 1821 to 1830, admitted 11,134, which with 4000, made 15,134; died in hospital, 1673; died out of hospital, 5371; leaving in hospital, 5612.

"From 1831 to 1840, admitted 12,619; out of which only 1558 were legitimate. And it appears that in this series, owing to the superior treatment by the medical staff and otherwise, the deaths were only out of the gross number of 18,231 in hospital, the number of 6363.

From the book written by the German professor on the condition of Italy, already mentioned, I find there were admitted into this hospital, in 1841, the number of 1251 foundlings, in 1842, 1225, in 1843, 1215, at no period since 1839 has there been a larger increase than 63. Considering the population of Florence is below that of a third rate English town, the number of exposed children in the periods above described appears very great. The mortality in the first period, from 1801 to 1810, out of 12,389 was 8592, this was immense; in the second period, to 1820, out of 14,178 there were 8305 deaths. In the third period, out of 15,134 there were 7044 deaths, and in the fourth period, out of 18,231 there were 6363 deaths. In the entire forty years, there were 30,304 deaths, an immense waste of human life. These figures disprove the author's reasoning and make it impossible to believe such institutions are calculated to save life. This is the rash assumption of mistaken benevolence. On

examination of the statistics of crime in Tuscany, it appears in a period of eight years, ending in 1838, the greatest number of infanticides was eight, the smallest number five for the whole kingdom. If, therefore, Dr. Bowring did assert that infanticides in Tuscany were common, or not checked by means of foundling hospitals, he was mistaken. Infanticides are rare, but the argument against such institutions is not affected thereby, for, so far as the preservation of life is concerned, it would be less prejudicial to have fifty infanticides without foundling hospitals, than 5000 deaths in a year with them. During the first period referred to, it would seem the hospital was an instrument for the murder of foundlings upon a great scale.

A fact more terrible is, that of the very general exposure of children by married parents, a barbarous and unnatural crime, fostered and encouraged by these vast receptacles of foundlings. It appears from the returns above quoted, in the first period 870 children were restored to their parents. It is not unreasonable to conclude the greater part were legitimate, and we may infer thence the generality of the practice, which saps the foundation of human society. Von Raumer scoffs at the idea of a people claiming political liberty when they indulge systematically in a crime not common amongst barbarians: he says, you must have fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, before you can have political society, and the remark is very true. Austria, whose government Von Raumer lauds, abhors political freedom, and therefore encourages all such institutions as foundling hospitals liberally. In Vienna there is an hospital on a magnificent scale, containing 5000 beds for the reception of pregnant women. Mystery, not to be fathomed veils this house, no priest or officer of

justice can cross its threshold, and no evidence is allowed to be given of anything which happens within its walls in a court of law. The results are, as might be expected, fatal to morality. In Vienna in 1841 were 8941 legitimate, and 7741 illegitimate births; and I have seen a statement that upwards of 1600 foundlings were received in one year into the great hospital of this dissolute capital. In Gratz there are more illegitimate than legitimate births. The great object of the Austrian tyranny appears to be, to gratify all the sensual appetites of the masses of her population, and to make war against the spiritual and intellectual nature of man. She is quite successful; the population of Vienna was the most contented and immoral in Europe. In the "British and Foreign Medical Review" for October, 1846, may be read an instructive article on the History of Foundlings in Austria, by Dr. Melzer. It appears the number doubled in Austria in twenty years. Within that period there have been in Austria (excluding Hungary and its dependencies) in 20,000,000 of people, 1,000,000 of foundlings. The increase is not in the poorest districts, poverty is not the cause, *vice is more influential.*

If we look to Milan under Austrian sway, we find there were from 1830 to 1840, received 26,147 foundlings, of which 6610 *were legitimate.*

The conclusion of the Austrian inspector is, that foundling hospitals are mischievous, because they have *no influence over those evils which they were instituted to prevent*, because the relief they proffer can be obtained only by a deliberate sacrifice of the best feelings of our nature, because they are liable to abuses which it is almost impossible to prevent, and because while they entail a great expense upon the country, they

preserve the lives of but a very small proportion of their inmates.

A valuable summary. With respect to the utility of the hospital for relief of cases of concealed pregnancy, it appears a contrivance for the safe indulgence in vicious courses; removes all check of shame, and tempts to a repetition of crime. The practice of giving dowries with young girls in marriage, although well meant, leads to many unhappy unions; worthless men seek these girls to grasp the dowry, then treat them ill, and desert their offspring; thus fresh immorality and crime are added, and so the number of foundlings is in many ways increased, and the sources of domestic happiness poisoned.

BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS OF TUSCANY.

Part II.

The Bigallo, and other Orphan Asylums described.—Institutions for the Reception of misguided Women.—Prevention of Mendicancy in Florence.—The Beggars of Tuscany and their Habits.—French System of Poor-house Discipline.—Night-houses of Florence.—No Asylum for the Blind in Tuscany.—Systems of Mendicancy in Pisa.—The Monte di Pietà.—Banks.—Tables of Results.—Observations on their Utility.—Sanatory Institutions.—Hospital Accommodation.—Baths for the Poor.—Mortality of one-fifth in the largest Hospital of Tuscany.—Moral Treatment of the Insane.—The Brethren of the Misericordia—their Origin, History, and Offices.—Excellent Remarks of John Bell on this Order.—Deaf and Dumb Institutions, interesting Experiment.

CHAPTER IV.—HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS FOR ORPHANS.

Whatever may be thought respecting the best means of employing money to relieve (says our author) the

poor, I think there is no philosophy or antisocial doctrine known on earth so selfish as to regret the sums spent in providing poor orphans with the means of physical subsistance, together with moral and industrial education. Acting on these principles the immortal Leopold decreed that all orphans of Tuscany, from three to ten years of age, should find shelter in the various establishments founded for that purpose in our delightful country. Can there be any species of preventive and instructive charity more praiseworthy?

The Bigallo Orphan Hospital.—"The order I have prefixed and the importance of the institution require that I should begin by a description of this semi-hospital being that which serves indiscriminately all orphans in the duchy. The history of the *Bigallo* may be given in a few words. When the religious wars against the *Paterini Heretics* ceased, the twelve captains of the sacred squadron formed by Peter the Martyr, instituted, between the years 1241 and 1245, a confraternity for the relief of the poor now called the *Bigallo.* From the time the nuns made a donation of this hospital, capable of containing 200 individuals, favours, privileges, and legacies were heaped upon this confraternity, which, so enriched, contributed towards the erection of magnificent churches: for example, that of *Santa Maria Novella* built in 1269. Until the year 1541 the captains of the *Bigallo* occupied themselves in receiving deserted children in order that they might be recognised and taken back by their parents. This proves that the custom of abandoning their progeny for ever was then unknown to the Florentines.

"Cosmo I. at the period of a famine, aided by the Bishop of Assisé, enlarged this orphan hospital; when it passed into the hands of the government, the young

children were sent to families in the country, or placed with artizans in the city. In 1787, as the resources increased, accommodation was provided for poor girls, not orphans, who from sickness or poverty were deserted by their parents. The children of widows marrying again, as well as orphans, are received into this institution, and may remain until eighteen years of age. The boys are then dismissed, receiving their last subsidy of three dollars; and the females, to whom is assigned a dowry of thirty dollars, remain under the care of the director until their settlement in life. The females who were orphans at the time of their reception into the hospital have a dowry of fifty dollars. Those of both sexes physically unable to provide for themselves, are maintained so long as they require it, without regard to their age. Of these there are but few; wheresoever placed all are watched by an overseer of the hospital. The *Bigallo family* consists at present of 695 individuals, 35 of which are in the establishment, 595 with peasants in the country. Those in the country have, besides their apparel, a monthly subsidy of two and a half lires from the age of three to ten, and one lire till they have completed eighteen years. In case of illness all extra expenses are repaid, and comforts are supplied suited to the condition of the patient.

I may here remark, this institution appears to be under an excellent system of management, still it is open to some of the objections before adverted to, and is rather injurious than beneficial to the morals of the community, in so far as it relieves living parents of their children. The orphan hospital of *Filippo Neri* receives male orphans of the city and environs. It was founded by the priest Filippo Franci with the

assistance of thirty-three citizens; Leopold I. reformed this institution, and appointed a spiritual pastor and skilful artisan to instruct the orphans according to the inclination of each; he ordered they should be admitted from nine to thirteen years of age, and maintained to the age of eighteen. The actual number sustained by the institution is sixty-six, which cost the establishment 20,000 lires, and they are disposed of as follows:—forty-one in the house, twenty-two with peasants, two in the workhouse, and one in the hospital of Santa Maria Novello. The hospital of Faligno, or the Holy Conception, is intended for females. It shelters poor girls from seven to twelve years of age, who are taught to write, read, sew, embroider, &c., and so qualified to be good mothers or useful servants; they may remain in the institution until they are twenty-five years of age.

ORPHAN HOSPITAL OF THE "PIE CASE."

These institutions or hospitals are known under the name of the *Pie case*, destined to receive the orphans of the city of both sexes. They are admirably managed by twelve noblemen of Leghorn. They have a fixed revenue of 70,000 lires, besides an uncertain sum proceeding from the stamp on maritime bills, which forms a considerable amount: about 250 orphans are maintained, 170 females, and 70 males. In the hospital for females, which is separated from that of the males, are received orphans, natives of Leghorn, from the age of eight to eleven years, and they remain till twenty two years old; the boys are received of the same age as the females, and suitably instructed. There are, moreover, in the establishment, shops of tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c., &c., where the boys are

taught the trade they have chosen. They remain in the institution till eighteen years of age. There is also in the establishment a gratuitous school of architecture and land-measuring, to which is admitted, indiscriminately, any young man of Leghorn.

Pisa, with regard to orphan hospitals, has no reason to envy either Florence or Leghorn. Poor orphan girls are received in the large, rich, and magnificent Hospital of Charity, where they are educated and taught a trade adapted to their condition; many are occupied in weaving, and the linen cloths worked here are much prised, on account of the elegance and skill with which they are executed. In this establishment, containing 92 or 105 novices, the girls, whose habits are almost monastic, may remain, and many do so all their lives, if they do not find comfortable situations. But the good education they receive, the character they bear, the trade they understand, the dowry of sixty dollars which is paid them on their marriage, are attractions so great that very few of them grow old in the hospital. Numerous are the applications for these girls made by young men (wishing to marry), not only of Pisa but of all the neighbouring provinces. For males, also, Pisa possesses an orphan hospital, but this is not so large or rich as that of the females; forty or fifty orphans are boarded and lodged. They are given an elementary instruction, and are accompanied every morning by a superintendent to those establishments in the city where they are placed to learn trades and useful arts. On festival days, under the direction of the same superintendent, they walk in procession, dressed in a simple uniform. From the institution they receive food, clothing, lodging, and a little money, and the gains produced by their work is deposited in

the savings' bank of the city, to be returned to them when they leave the orphan hospital, at the age of eighteen or twenty years, or before, if they are in a position to procure an honest subsistence.

In Pistoia the poor orphans and deserted females, since the year 1584, have had an asylum, known under the name of the "House of the deserted." Leopold I. became the protector of the institution. From the humble house in which these women lived, he removed them to what had been the convent of St. Catharine, and increased its income to 10,299 lires.*

The twenty nuns who are at present in this establishment attend and direct the moral and religious education of the inmates. They work embroidered veils, &c., which are in great demand. The forty orphans of the city receive elementary instruction; such girls are admitted from the age of seven to sixteen, and remain till twenty-five. The produce of their work is equally divided between the institution and themselves. After staying four years and having learned a trade, they have a right to a dowry of forty dollars.†

The orphan house of Siena, founded by charitable legacies, is of ancient date; the regulations are similar to those of Leghorn, and the number received and maintained is 110. In the city of Arezzo, orphans are received in the hospital for beggars.

The orphan female hospital of Borgo, at Buggiam, contains fifty girls.

Of the smaller orphan hospitals of Tuscany, the best

* A lire is worth eightpence halfpenny.

† The German professor makes some sensible remarks on these institutions for giving dowries to young women in Tuscany—they encourage marriages of imprudence, ending in connubial misery, and, I may add, reproduce crime.

is that of Serranezzo. At Monte Pulciano, Cortona, Montalcino, &c., there are others similar to those of Monte Varchi and St. Sepalero.

ORPHAN HOSPITAL OF MAGNOLFI AT PRATO.

"I began this chapter by a description of the Bigallo. An establishment of its kind more celebrated than any founded in Rome at the suggestion of Ignatius Loyola and Innocent XII., or those anywhere now existing in Europe, and I have much pleasure in ending it by giving a description of the orphan hospital lately built at Prato, at the expense of the carpenter Magnolfi, deservedly applauded in one of the last sittings of the scientific congress. Magnolfi, son of a carpenter, and a carpenter himself, was born at Prato in 1786. In 1832 he sat as magistrate of that town. It was proposed to reform the charity schools, and some one moved that he should take the management of them. He began by conceiving an infantile school: such asylums not then prospering as they do now in Tuscany. Magnolfi was guided by having seen a first attempt made by Enrico Mayer* with a few infants in Leghorn. The female school of Prato acquired new vigour through him, and then it was desired that he would also undertake the charge of orphans or infants forsaken by their parents. This he did with no other

* One of the great promoters of popular education, and well known for his upright, generous character and eminent talents. When he visited Rome, in 1840, he was suddenly arrested, and detained four months in prison, as a dangerous person; ultimately, by the intervention of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he was released, having been sentenced to perpetual banishment from the papal states. Mayer never learned the cause of his arrest: his crime consisted, no doubt, in being an advocate for popular education, and writing against the lottery.—Ed.

means than those afforded him by his limited fortune. In 1837 he gave shelter to twelve boys from seven to twelve years of age, chosen from amongst the poorest in the city. He presided there, and, with the help of a young priest, attended to the observance of an education established by himself. The pupils acquired elementary instruction, and were recommended to shopmen of the city to learn trades; but, not being satisfied with the moral effects of that system, he applied for and obtained the ex-convent of Puta, in which he opened workshops for working iron and wood, and for weaving. He proposed to the government a regulation for the new institution, which was approved of with a grant of 1,500 dollars. This occurred in 1838; the number of orphans was then increased, and a few children of honest parents were admitted, upon paying a moderate monthly salary, but, as the establishment was too small, in 1840 the foundations were laid of a large building, with room for workshops and schools. The pupils receive religious and secular instruction; the residue of the income of the charity schools, amounting to 1,000 lires, has been recently assigned to the orphan house, and 2,000 more of the ecclesiastical patrimony of Puta. Magnolfi not only is the founder and director of the institution, but the inseparable companion, the father of the orphans; he is ever present, partaking of their humble repast, and has chosen his cell amongst them."

Having read the description of these orphan institutions, so numerous in a small country, one would be tempted to ask, are there in Tuscany any children who are not orphans? The number admitted into these institutions is very great, and, although such establishments evince the tender regard felt by a generous and civilized people for the sufferings of the poor, yet one

cannot avoid the opinion that, so far as these institutions relieve a parent of his or her duties or moral responsibilities, unless under a pressing necessity, their value to society is more apparent than real. We must, however, reverence the feeling whence these establishments have sprung.

CHAP. V.—INSTITUTIONS FOR MISGUIDED WOMEN.

"The institution here described was founded in 1819; twenty women are received who evince a desire to return to the path of virtue. They are instructed in religion, and live in common under the vigilance of a select committee. The hospital is in part maintained by the produce of the inmates' work. When they have become clever workwomen and shew a firm resolution to lead a life of virtue, they may return into society, in which event they are furnished with the means wherewith to procure an honest subsistence. In the Convertite Asylum, as in the Capponi Hospital, are received the victims of seduction who may repent of their former life, and commence another more in accordance with the duties of a Christian. They are taught trades, and instructed in religion.

"At Prato there is a similar house of refuge; at Pistoia they are sheltered in the convent with deserted orphans; at Siena, Arezzo, &c., in poor-houses; at Pisa in the house of refuge, and in Leghorn in the charity-house."

CHAP. VI.—HOSPITALS FOR MENDICANTS, AND WORK-HOUSES.

"Tuscany, as an agricultural country with few manufactures, does not feel the injury caused by the sudden cessation of employment occurring in America, France,

and more than elsewhere in the large towns of England, which country has in consequence a crowd of mendicants to feed. Notwithstanding this, for reasons more easily discovered than removed, this fine province of Italy is contaminated by paupers, and the painful sight of professional beggars presents itself to the view in all directions except in the capital, where the laws exclude them. It is observable, that if in the highways and markets you find an impudent mendicant, you will find the same face in all other places where there is a crowd. These professional beggars travel from town to town in periodical journeys for their profit. Consequently, he who passes through the populous towns of our flourishing country is compelled to think Tuscany harbours a multitude of paupers, and is much poorer than she actually is. Whenever a public festival is celebrated in one of the smaller towns, hundreds of these beggars assemble, some deformed and impotent, others, strong men pretending to be sick, deafen the people with their clamorous appeals; as soon as the festivity is ended, they disappear and betake themselves to some other such scenes. Some of these vagabonds keep a horse to carry them on their journeys. To repress begging, a charity workhouse was established in Florence during the French government of Tuscany, but in a short time it fell into decay. Through the improvements effected by the present Grand Duke in 1837, it has received new vigour. The inmates are instructed in various branches of trade: the males manufacture woollen caps and carpets (of the latter about 40,000 yards annually), the females are employed in spinning, weaving, &c. A few of the most exemplary are sent to the shopmen or artizans of the city; their gains are placed in the savings' bank, the whole

of which are given back to them upon leaving the establishment; they are also taught reading, writing, &c. The abolition of corporal punishment, clean and comfortable clothing, wholesome food and scrupulous vigilance, concur to attain fully the aim of the institution. This establishment is maintained by the help of the municipality of Florence, benevolent collections, a share of the customs, *and the lottery*. The number of persons here sheltered was, in 1817, 2008, *i. e.* 1054 males and 954 females. The average number in the workhouse from 1st January, 1830, to the end of 1839, was 875: males, 561; females, 314. After the suppression of mendicancy in the city, the number of inmates in 1840 amounted to 1367,* viz. 847 males and 520 females. The decrepit old men of the city are admitted, to the number of 54, in the Orbatello hospital. Other invalids, males and females, are received in the St. Bonifazio; poor widows in the St. Agnes hospital, founded in 1403. To obtain admission into the latter establishment, it is required the applicant be at least forty years old, and of unexceptionable character."

ST. ONOFRIO HOSPITAL.

The poor are received into this establishment during the night. It is furnished with eighty-five beds, fifty-four for men and thirty for women; generally but one half these beds were occupied, and the greater part by women. Those destined for the lame and blind are always full. There is no house of refuge for the blind exclusively in Tuscany.

Let me stop in my translation to observe how aston-

* A considerable number in proportion to the population of Florence.

ishing it is that in many other parts of Italy, as in Tuscany, no institutions exist for the reception of the most miserable and helpless of mankind, the blind. The national benevolence is misapplied, and charity frequently mistakes the objects of her choice. Vice is encouraged by foundling hospitals, while the blind are abandoned to mendicancy and despair.

"The poor-house of Arezzo, containing 100 inmates, was opened in December 1832; here old men find refuge, orphans a father, and those capable of working are employed in useful trades: it is, however, a painful fact, the enthusiasm evinced at its foundation is nearly extinguished, and the institution is sinking.

"In the poor-house of Vienna nearly 200 inmates are maintained in complete idleness. The Viennese citizens should remember God gave men arms to labour, that idleness is the parent of crime, and indiscriminate charity pernicious. At Pistoia no workhouse is required, no absolute poverty existing in the place. There is, however, an hospital of the Pernottanti, so called, that is for those who pass the night here, similar to the night-house of Florence already mentioned. There is in addition, the Saint Antonia Hospital, which admits and lodges the female mountaineers of the department of Pistoia for three nights and days. In Prato, as in Pisa, Pontremoli, Pistoia, and Prosignamo, the government provides hospitals and asylums for the invalid military, where, talking over the past glories of Italy, they pass the remainder of their lives. In Leghorn, where labour finds an abundant market, and a poor-house might be considered unnecessary, one exists, and also an extensive place of refuge for the young. In Pisa, where the labourer cannot find employment, the rich inhabitants and nobles cannot be

prevailed upon to open such an establishment. There is a pilgrim's hospital here, wherein the blind, the lame, and the aged are received permanently, and also the beggars to sleep at night, who spread themselves about the city during the day."

I may observe begging is general through the streets of Pisa, while at the doors of the magnificent cathedral a firm phalanx of sturdy mendicants besiege and intercept the ingress and egress of the unfortunate stranger until he satisfies their craving. Begging is interdicted in Florence only to flourish in Pisa. It spoils the enjoyment of the traveller, especially as the mendicant pursues him into the church, and, when satisfied, only departs to despatch a no less clamorous successor.

MONTE DI PIETA—PAWN BANKS.

Tuscany affords the means of temporary assistance to the necessitous, lending money for a given time to those who deposit pawns of some value; and if these pawns are not redeemed within two years, or at least repawned, they are sold for the benefit of the bank. The sum lent annually by the pawn banks of Tuscany, as calculated by Bowring, is 4,000,000 lires; the chief of these are the four in Florence, two in Leghorn, Siena and Pisa, and those of Pistoia, the following is a description of a few of them:—

The pawn bank of Leghorn affords assistance to small traders and sellers by retail (who, by depositing silver or jewels, obtain considerable sums); it had a deposit, in 1839, to the value of 367,107 lires. Its negociable credit amounted to 63,629 lires. Its debts to 413,392 lires: 160,608 pawns were deposited, valued at 1,138,258 lires. In the same year 9,591 pawns were sold, and their proceeds amounted to 46.955

lires. The pawn banks of Florence lend money to the needy of every class, with four per cent. interest upon the amount withdrawn, more than 350 lires cannot be given upon each pawn, at present the institution has annually on an average 1,884,000 Tuscan lires in circulation. That of Pistoia, established by the Bishop Donato Medici, with the same aim as that of Savonarola, and opened in 1471, was so prosperous, that in 1750 it possessed a fund amounting to 100,000 dollars; in 1837-38 it took in 102,827 pawns, valued at 919,763 lires.

In Pisa they have annually one million lires lent, and many of the pawns (which is a sign of great poverty) are sold. The other charity banks of Tuscany lend about another million of lires annually. One of the chief defects of these institutions is, that while the pawn is valued under one-third of its real worth if it is sold, little is returned to the depositor. First, because articles of the pawn bank are sold at very low prices; secondly, because the administration must reimburse itself heavy expenses; and thirdly, because if the pawns do not consist of precious stones or metals, they are damaged by remaining three years in such a place. A few other defects, including that of not being allowed to repay the sum lent by instalments, have induced some to give them the name of privileged usury banks.

Notwithstanding these cavils, these banks render to the poor classes of the state incalculable services.

SANATORY INSTITUTIONS.

In all parts of Tuscany medical assistance is gratuitously rendered to the sick poor. The Tuscan Government has provided also, that prisoners, foundlings,

the military passing through or permanent in a place, should be gratuitously treated by the medical men of the municipality; to whom, in the provinces, &c., is entrusted also the vaccination of the people.

PUBLIC-GRATUITOUS HALL OF VACCINATION IN FLORENCE.

In this hall, opened since the year 1833 in the Innocenti Hospital, the operation is performed every week upon infants, foundlings, and those brought from the surrounding country; and the virus is collected and kept with the greatest care, to be afterwards distributed gratis to applicants. This regulation has produced the best results. The surgeons appointed to vaccinate are obliged to attend the progress of the case, and to give an account of these every year to the government. In smaller towns, the doctors of the community are charged with the gratuitous vaccination, and it is done in spring. A list is sent to the municipal body, which grants to the surgeon a recompence proportioned to the number of cases. In this manner all the children of Tuscany may participate in the benefit derived from vaccination. We have, besides, distinct hospitals for mental, cutaneous, and chronic diseases, and for the deformed, &c., as well as hospitals and halls exclusively for incurable invalids, &c. The government hospitals, particularly those of Florence, Pisa, and Siena are so extensive and well provided, that they are capable of receiving the whole of our sick. When a person is taken ill, he has merely to procure a certificate of poverty and sickness. As soon as he presents himself, he is conducted to the proper department, and well attended to. *The Confraternity of the Misericordia* undertakes to convey the sick to the hospitals in the principal cities; and when this institution does not exist, their convey-

ance is entrusted to charitable confraternities, (which are to be found almost everywhere) or the municipal authorities attend to it, carrying the sick in a species of *private omnibus*. And as to effect a complete cure of many cutaneous diseases, fresh water and mineral baths are required, Leopold I. constructed, at Monteculini, baths and hospitals to receive those invalids requiring them; and Leopold II. established baths in the St. Lucia hospital of Florence, where the poor can have them on application. I will end this paragraph, by reminding my readers, that in all infirmaries of the principal cities of Tuscany, open night and day, are constantly in attendance doctors and surgeons for immediate gratuitous consultations and aid.

CHAPTER VIII.

According to the latest statistical returns, the hospitals in the duchy are forty-three, and receive each year on an average 26,000 sick, or in the proportion to the population of 197-10 per 1,000. The deaths in the hospital are in general throughout the duchy about 8 per cent. The government hospitals receive the sick poor when taken ill in the streets or public inns; and in those of Siena, Florence, &c., there are apartments where, by paying a moderate sum, a person may enjoy all the advantages, advice, &c., that those establishments afford. What the expense for the maintenance of our forty-three hospitals is, I cannot precisely say. "I am sure, however," writes Signor Turchetti, "that Dr. Bowring is very much in error in asserting that it does amount to more than 1,418,092 lires." The government hospitals are supported from various resources, and from taxes on salt, food, lotteries, &c.

SANTA MARIA NUOVA HOSPITAL.

The size of this building, the ample and well ventilated galleries, and, above all, its scrupulous cleanliness, place this hospital amongst the most remarkable of Italy. The spiritual attendance is entrusted to the monks. A number of charitable women afford voluntary assistance to sick females. The medical attendance is entrusted to a professor, first class doctors, &c. The surgical attendance is superintended by a professor and other surgeons. More than 340 individuals are employed to assist the sick in this immense hospital.

The number received during ten years in this hospital was 58,750; cured 47,118; died 11,466.* The inhabitants of Pisa erected a magnificent establishment in 1258, in expectation of the interdict from which they were relieved by a bull of the Pope Alexander VI.

The hospital of Pistoia was commenced in 1277. It receives annually, on an average, 2,000 sick. Leghorn has two hospitals, one for males, the other for females; they are very large, but not sufficiently so for the population. The smaller towns have hospitals, also, receiving thousands of sick. The establishment of St. Lucia was founded in Florence, in 1816, for the cure of cutaneous diseases; afterwards a larger establishment, supplied with baths of different kinds for the benefit of the poor, was here opened. In three months of our summer, 30,000 baths are administered. There is also a separate apartment for the better classes, where, upon paying a moderate sum, they may procure attendance and the use of baths. There is a similar hospital at Siena.

* This mortality seems very great.

HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

There are two such in Tuscany. That of Florence was founded by Bonifazio, Marquis of Loragua, head of the republic, to unburden his conscience. It was first destined for pilgrims and invalids, but Leopold I. had it changed into a madhouse, relieving the unhappy inmates from the chains which previously oppressed them. Dr. Chiarugi introduced the system of moral treatment of lunatics. The food and healthy locality, the clothing and cleanliness observed in every part, is such that secondary diseases are very rare, hence many of the inmates reach a healthy old age, having been forty years in confinement. Simplicity in the cure is professed by this establishment. Amongst the means used, the most efficacious is that of occupation, and an extensive piece of ground is attached to the building, upon which the insane pursue agriculture. The women have a large room, where they occupy themselves in spinning, knitting, and sewing. In general, that liberty which may be reconcilable with their condition is granted to the insane. The convalescent leave the establishment for their pleasure, accompanied by a guardian. The annual number admitted, consisting of nearly all the insane, is 200. The number of males predominate; but few cures are effected, and fewer deaths take place among the females. From the year 1835, the mortality has not exceeded nine per cent., and perfect cures have not been less than twenty per cent.

The lunatic asylum of Siena has been recently established. It admits lunatics from all parts of Tuscany, and about two pauls* per diem is paid for their support, either by their parents or the community.

* The paul is 5½*d*.

We have thus described the forty-three hospitals of Tuscany.

CHAPTER V.—BRETHREN OF THE MISERICORDIA.

"This sacred institution is not much known throughout Italy. Praised even by the sceptical writers of France, commendable for the exalted charity and religious self-denial of its members, headed by our sovereign, the confraternity of mercy in our capital has ever been foremost in works of love. The object is, according to its statutes, to assist mankind in sudden emergencies, its members hastening, night and day, and in all weather, to take up, in the streets or houses, persons struck down by illness or accident, to convey them to the hospital if sick, or to bury them, in case of death; to assist, at any time, the sick of all conditions; to change their bed and linen, &c.; to administer pecuniary aid to the poor; and, in order that the members of the confraternity be more pure and unaffected by the gratitude of those receiving help, they are unknown, concealed by a vestment which covers the whole of their body, not excepting the face. This confraternity is established in almost all the towns of Tuscany, and had its origin, in 1240, from a certain Luca Borsi, a common porter, who placed a small box in a place where his men went to sleep, and commanded that any one who allowed an oath to escape his lips, should place a crazió therein. This money was applied in payment of those porters who might rescue a person from death, or pick up the drowned, or those fallen from buildings; when Borsi died, a crucifix was placed upon the box, with the following inscription: 'Give alms for the sick and poor of the city,' placing the box in St. John's church. In a short time it overflowed with money; and, in the

year 1345, during that terrible plague eloquently described by Boccaccio, the confraternity rendered such services to the poor that many legacies were left to it.

"In all the plagues which scourged our capital, the brethren gave proofs of heroic virtue, and when, in 1632, the date of the last pestilence, the members visited the churches, to thank God they had been protected in the hour of danger, they were accompanied by the ringing of bells and acclamations of the people.

"This confraternity is provided with a convenient place of meeting, is composed of 72 leaders, *capi di guardia*, and 203 brothers; a large bell is in every place at the disposition of the members, and this serves to notify the kind of calamity that has happened and the service to be rendered. The moment the *capi di guardia* receive intelligence of some calamity, they ascertain the fact, then toll the bell, and numbers of the brethren dress and assemble. The bell once tolled indicates a light misfortune, twice, a serious wound, thrice, death. The sick are conveyed at any hour of the day to the hospital; the dead in the evening only, for interment. I will end this chapter by mentioning that these brethren were once charged to carry away the bodies of those condemned to death, to the hospital, after the sentence had been fulfilled; but I am glad to say that for ten years past this service has not been required, nor will it so long as Leopold, the most humane of all sovereigns, reigns over his subjects. That prince, without annulling the punishment of death in the code, *has rendered its infliction almost impossible, by requiring the universal vote of the judges.*"

On the nature and effect of this institution, Mr. John Bell has made the following sensible and excellent observations:

"No fixed period is enjoined for the fulfilment of the vow taken by this order. Many in the highest sphere have sought expiation of sins by assuming it for a longer or shorter time, proportioned to the extent of their crime, or to the sensitive state of their consciences. Princes, cardinals, and even popes have been numbered among their penitents, and have joined in their vows and services. While dwelling on the penitence which this subject presents to the mind, it is impossible not to be struck with the scope given to human passions in the belief inculcated of a remission of sins, obtained by a few expiatory observances. It is evident that this reliance, instead of being a check to guilty wishes, facilitates their accomplishment. The desired object is first attained, and then penance or propitiation comes lagging after, as time or opportunity may suit. That a being should be driven by the anguish of a lacerated conscience to seek relief in the gloom and solitude of so severe an order as that of La Trappe and others, must ever appear at once touching and awful; but instances of this nature are rare, and when they do occur the efficacy of such self sacrifice must be measured by the degree of restored peace imparted to the wounded spirit. The belief however that a vow fulfilled, or an ascetic discipline observed during, perhaps, a period of short-lived remorse, can expiate the commission of a sin is a dangerous doctrine."

In these observations I heartily concur.

CHAP. VI.—DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION.

"It is fitting Tuscany should have an institution wherein the deaf and dumb might acquire an education. I may mention an extraordinary fact, with the fame of which Italy resounds. Don Antonio Provola, of Verona, and the professor Rafilio, leaving aside the manual alphabet, have succeeded, by the method of guttural and pectoral vibrations, not only in teaching

the deaf and dumb the artificial word, but also to sing in rhyme and musical scale, experiments of which were made at Verona in the presence of his majesty, the Emperor of Austria, at the period of his coronation as King of Italy. The institution at Siena is supported by voluntary contributions. Its income is now 17,000 lires, and there are at present forty deaf and dumb in the establishment. The method for teaching our language is that of father Assarotti, of Genoa;* besides, the deaf and dumb are taught the elements of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, mythology, sacred and profane history, &c. For the poor males, some shops have been opened where they may learn trades; and the females learn to embroider, sew, and make artificial flowers."

We have thus completed our survey of the charitable institutions of Tuscany; the political economist may be of opinion that most of such establishments have a mischievous tendency even when well conducted. Others will, perhaps, select some of the Tuscan institutions for praise or imitation, and may condemn the rest: all will applaud the spirit of boundless benevolence from which they sprung. The attentive observer will remark how early must have been the civilization of Florence, to originate these extensive and ingenious systems of relief, and the philanthropist discovers how far such institutions prejudice or promote the morals, virtue, and happiness of a people.†

* The deaf and dumb institution at Genoa is one of the most interesting establishments for relief of the miserable, in Europe. —Ed.

† It might be a curious inquiry to trace what amount of the crime of Tuscany may be ascribed to the charitable institutions, or to the effects which follow from them. See tables at the end of chapter on the Criminal Code.

CHAPTER XI.

A SKETCH OF FLORENTINE HISTORY AND OF THE MEDICI.

Early History of Florence.—Internal Divisions.—Guelph and Ghibelline.—Administration of Justice.—Florentine Love of Splendour and Democracy.—Sufferings from Dissension.—Constitution of Magistracy.—Invention of Balance of Power.—Rise and Fall of Gualtier de Brienne.—The Family of the Medici—their Origin and Influence.—Cosmo's Rule—his Policy—his Death.—Lucas Pitti and Pietro de Medici.—Lorenzo the Magnificent, and his Biographer.

Amidst the brilliant republics of Italy in the middle ages, Florence shone conspicuous; commercial prosperity enriched her, art was fostered, letters were cultivated, political philosophy developed, while an active population burned with a vehement passion for liberty.

Florence displayed all the virtues and some of the vices of a republican form of government; amazing energy, unbroken spirit, prodigious success; with internal divisions, furious quarrels, and not unfrequent revolutions.*

* The early history of Florence may be told briefly by a note in Gibbon's history:—"Machiavel has explained, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which insensibly descended, for the benefit of trade, from the rock of Fæsulæ to the banks of the Arno. The Triumvirs sent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius, deserved the reputation and name of a *flourishing* city." I may add there are no Roman remains in Florence.

The difficulty under which she fell, was caused by her inability to combine security and justice with boundless political freedom, and the exercise of all the powers of government by the whole people.

From 1150 to 1183 the Italian cities had struggled to obtain the peace of Constance, which they regarded as their Constitutional Charter. It was a signal triumph,—a legal freedom was established against power, the ample privileges and rights of the free cities were defined and secured, while the vague claims of the Emperor, modified and reduced, were agreed in case of future dispute, to be purchasable for an annual sum of 2000 marks of silver. From 1183 to 1250 all the privileges secured by this treaty were preserved, and the cities of Italy increased in wealth, power, and grandeur. But they were distracted by a great and almost national quarrel, which sprung up, and grew, and yielded bitter fruits, — that famous dispute between Guelph and Ghibelline; the Ghibelline contending for the majesty of the empire, and the high privileges of the Emperor; the Guelph struggling for what he conceived to be the cause of the independence of the church, and the liberty of Italy. These troubles naturally originated many evils.

In most Italian republics there were judicial institutions founded rather to terrify than protect. To the praise of Florence it is recorded, she above all others thought of justice more than the punishment of the guilty. This, saith Sismondi, was because Florence was the city where the love of liberty was the most general and the most constant in every class, where the cultivation of the understanding was carried furthest, and where enlightenment of mind soonest appeared in the improvement of the laws.

The Ghibelline nobles had now contrived to get possession of Florence, but the people were too proud to submit to their yoke, and by an unanimous insurrection on the 20th of October, 1250, they set themselves free. Assembled in the square of Santa Croce, they divided into companies of 950, of which each chose a captain; and these officers formed a council, they elected the judge, who was called "captain of the people," and they suffered that ancient judicial officer named the Podesta to exist.* But they decreed that each judge should have an independent tribunal, so as to control the other, and they resolved that both should be subordinate to the supreme magistracy of the republic; which magistracy, while it held the administration of affairs, was stripped of all judicial power. The Florentines early felt the necessity of separating the legislative and judicial tribunals, and various were the expedients resorted to for securing impartial justice. The executive magistracy was called the Signoria, and it was ordained, this executive body should be always present in the fine old palace of the republic, to watch the captain and the podesta, both of whom were suspected, by reason of the power they possessed. The executive magistrates composing the Signoria were twelve in number, two being chosen from each of the

* (From "Burnet's Travels in Italy.")—"The magnificence of the *podesta* appeared very extraordinary, for he went through the fair with a great train of coaches, all in his own livery, and the two coaches in which he and his lady rode were both extraordinary rich. This was a huge bed coach, all the outside black velvet, and a mighty rich gold fringe, lined with black damask, flowered with gold." This name of *podesta* is very ancient; for, in the Roman times, the chief magistrates of the lesser towns were called the *potestas*, as appears from Juvenal—

Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse potestas.

six divisions into which the city was divided, and were called Anziani. These twelve worthy functionaries had need of a hearty attachment for each other, for they were bound to eat together, sleep in the fine old palace, and could never walk out to breathe the air but in a body, lest I suppose, the captain or the podesta might overtake and destroy them individually. These twelve good men and true were relieved, no doubt greatly to their satisfaction, at the end of two months, and succeeded by twelve other citizens, who in like manner ate, drank, slept, and walked together, and watched the captain and the podesta; and Florence had many citizens to perform worthily these magisterial functions. In 1254 there lived a famous Podesta called Guiscardo Pietra Santa, and under his guidance the Florentines conquered all their neighbours, insomuch that this was called the "year of victories." They built, in honour of this valorous podesta, a place called to this day Pietra Santa, which travellers avoid when they can.

The magistrates were enterprising merchants, and honest men as well; for while the covetous sovereigns of Europe cheated their subjects with bad money, and clipped what good coin they had, the Anziani scorned such kingly meanness, and struck the famous golden florin of Florence, of sterling value, which coin remained unaltered as the standard for all other values so long as the republic endured.

Thus Florence with her militia, and her captain and Podesta, and twelve watchful magistrates, and bright gold coin, grew and flourished.

The Guelphs and Ghibellines were always fighting in Italy. The Guelphs said it was for liberty and the independence of the church they were contending;

while the Ghibellines declared they were battling for honour, the emperor, royalty, aristocracy, and the like. Both, however, were tyrannical in turn, the grand object of each was to make their particular faction triumph; so justice was very often forgotten, as happens sometimes even now.

However, amidst all their fighting, these sturdy republicans paid close attention to business, filled their warehouses, opened showy shops, cultivated beautiful fields, constructed canals, and built handsome cities, well paved and convenient, when Paris was a filthy town. Nay, before the year 1300, the Florentines erected churches, which have never since been equalled; and the merchants aspired to live in palaces; and would have themselves surrounded with exquisite statues and monuments in sculpture and bronze; and pleased themselves with painting, music, and poetry; and wrote history with a truth which was creditable and somewhat unusual; and taught morals and philosophy; and prided themselves upon being, on the whole, a very superior people.*

The Florentines were rather fond of reforming their

* The condition of Florence in the early part of the fourteenth century is described in a passage quoted from Mr. Macaulay's clever but not original essay on the genius of Machiavelli, the description is sustained by the authority of John Villani:— "The revenue of the republic amounted to 300,000 florins, a sum which allowing for the depreciation of the precious metals, was at least equivalent to 600,000*l.* sterling; a larger sum than England and Ireland, two centuries ago, yielded to Elizabeth. The manufactures of wool alone employed 200 factories, and 30,000 workmen. The cloth annually produced sold at an average for 1,200,000 florins; a sum fully equal, in exchangeable value, to 2,500,000 of our money. 400,000 florins were annually coined. Eighty banks conducted the commercial operations, not

constitution, and thought they never could have enough of that good thing called democracy; so, in 1282, they removed the anziani, whom they had at first set at the head of their government, to substitute *priori delle arti*, names these good people loved so much, that they keep them still, although they have lost the thing which the words denoted.

The trades were called by a refined name, *arti*, and were divided into the greater and the less, a very proper distinction, for the man of silk believed himself superior to the man of stuff.

Six of the greater trades were admitted into the government, these must have been grand gentlemen, during their time of office, like our mayors, though I suspect more clever. The Florentines called the six priori delle arti, *a college*, and they were obliged to live together for two months in the public palace, forming the Signoria, which represented the republic. These six tradesmen constituted a small, but select council, and ruled right well. Some ten years later the Florentines gave a finish to the signoria, by placing at its head an officer named the Gonfalonier of Justice, elected for two months, from among the representatives of the arts, manufactures, and commerce. This functionary was a great man in the state, for when he thought fit

of Florence only, but of all Europe. The transactions of these establishments were sometimes of a magnitude which may surprise even the cotemporaries of the Barings and the Rothschilds. Two houses advanced to Edward III. of England upwards of 300,000 marks, at a time when the mark contained more silver than fifty shillings of the present day, and when the value of silver was more than quadruple of what it now is. The city and its environs contained 170,000 inhabitants. In the various schools about 10,000 children were taught to read, 1200 studied arithmetic, 600 received a learned education."

to display the gonfalon, that is, the standard of the republic, the good citizens were obliged to assist in executing the law. So the gonfalonier did sometimes, as our sheriff may do, summon the *posse comitatus* of his county.

The gonfalonier and the citizens, when assembled, frequently beat the nobles soundly, and it must be admitted they generally deserved it, for they were unruly and turbulent, delighted in violence, and despised the industrious citizens, as aristocrats sometimes do even now. But when the gonfalonier, his militia, and the men of Florence, fell upon these ill-behaved nobles, they not only chastised the aggressors, and delivered them up to their podesta, but they razed, often, their fine palaces to the ground; this was considered a good plan, in as much as it saved further trouble. Sometimes the nobles were banished, and then they betook themselves to their castles, as a proud family called the *Cancellieri* did, and soon began to quarrel amongst themselves, and dividing the family into two branches, described by the names of *Bianchi* and *Neri* (whites and blacks) fought with more than family fury. The nick-names inflamed their passions; this happens even amongst ourselves, and all Tuscany was filled with their quarrels, Dante himself taking part in the squabble. Florence suffered severely from these dissensions.

In 1313 the epithets Guelph and Ghibelline became respectively identified with liberty and tyranny. The Guelphs were for the independence of Italy; the Ghibellines wished to subdue the republics to the will of the emperor. The republic of Florence, which declared it was the Athens of Italy, placed itself at the head of the Guelph league; this was brave and generous, but not very prudent. This

league embraced Siena, Perugia, and Bologna (with Florence), republics which had a brief though splendid day of freedom. In 1323 Florence, who was ever bent on reforming rather than keeping fast what liberty she had, adopted fresh improvements in her constitution. It was now insisted the greatest number of citizens should in turn arrive at the office of priori, which, for the short space of two months, represented the sovereignty of this fretful but brilliant democracy.

The office of priori, however, was purely honorary; not one fraction of salary was paid to these republican magistrates, wherein consists the difference between them and the well paid functionaries of our time. In this golden age of the Florentine commonwealth, public magistrates disdained payment, and laboured gratuitously for their country's good. Even in the matter of the dinner, the priori were only dined at the expense of the state while they lived in the palace, and this was not extravagant.

But in 1323 the Florentines introduced drawing by lot into the nomination of their first magistrates. They ordained that a general list of all the eligible citizens, being of the Guelph faction, and thirty years old, should be formed by a majority of five magistracies, of which each represented a national interest:—the priori, the gonfalonier, the captains of the people, the judges of commerce, and the consuls of the arts. Each of these exercised a right of pointing out the eligible citizen. The list prepared by them was laid before a *balia* (a word which signifies power), composed of the magistrates in office, and the thirty six deputies chosen by the six divisions of the town. Thus the names on the list were scrutinised and classed for election to the different magistracies of the town,

to which the individuals were raised by lot. This arrangement was to last three years and a half, after which there was to be a new *balia*, and in this fashion are the municipal magistrates of Tuscany now chosen, when the paternal care of their government has relieved them from all real responsibility or action. But these worthy magistrates, although, like Baillie Nicol Jarvie, they did wonderfully well in time of peace, could not cut so bright a figure in war, and so the Florentines were defeated by one Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, who had been in England, and learned war as an art in France and Lombardy. The good people of Florence availed themselves, reluctantly, of the assistance of the Duke of Calabria, son of the King of Naples, while Castruccio enlisted under the banners of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. Fortunately for Florence, both her opponent Castruccio, and her general the duke, died in 1328: it is difficult to say which was the worst enemy of this active but afflicted republic.

Then came John of Bohemia, son of the Emperor Henry VII. into Italy, an accomplished knight; won by his chivalry, captivated by his personal beauty and accomplishments, many of the cities of Italy chose him for their prince, and they were not far wrong, for he vowed to govern according to justice and with impartiality, a thing somewhat uncommon in those days; and so began by recalling both Guelph and Ghibelline from banishment, and begged of these factious disputants not to hate each other quite so furiously for the future, a bold request to make, and not likely to be granted. But the Florentines refused to follow the seductive example of so many other Italian states, they admired John of Bohemia very much, but declared that, whatever his genius or virtue might be, they disrelished mightily

absolute princes, for if not corrupt themselves, their advisers generally were. Free we are, said the stout weavers of Florence, and free we will remain, a declaration so very spirited and proper, that I very much admire the men who made it. The Florentines did not begin a crusade on behalf of all oppressed cities, but took counsel for themselves, and after a great deliberation hit upon the notable scheme of balancing the different powers of Italy, in such a manner as to baffle the efforts of any one usurping state from swallowing up the rest. This balance of power was a marvellous invention, for it has engaged all the artful diplomatists of Europe ever since, who are continually plotting and planning to weigh and balance one scheming government against the other, so that no one state should become heavier than all the rest, as France under Napoleon had like to have been. Florence was always addicted to this policy afterwards. Those who are wise enough to read Lord Bacon's essays as often as they ought, will remember, in treating of Empire, what he writes :—

"During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. King of France, and Charles V. Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways *balance* it, either by confederation, or, if need be, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest: and the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine saith was the security of Italy), made between Ferdinando, King of Naples, Florenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforsa, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan."

No doubt it was a deep policy worthy of Machiavel,

but whether it is quite so useful now a days simple men may doubt. It finds employment, however, for diplomatists and ambassadors, who might otherwise have but little to do,—and, indeed, the little they have to do, very often is done but badly.

The Florentines in the fourteenth century, looking about them, saw most of the once free cities of beautiful Italy had been enslaved to one petty tyrant or other, so faithful allies were difficult to be found. With commendable wisdom our determined republicans smothered old resentments, and made a treaty with the Lombard Ghibellines against this John of Bohemia, on condition, however, that should they succeed and divide between them good spoil, matters should be so adjusted as to prevent the aggrandisement of any single state, and so preserve this balance or equilibrium of power.

All this was done in 1332. John of Bohemia did not deport himself bravely in this emergency, but went away to Paris to lead a dissipated life, leaving Italy in greater confusion than he found it. The confederates were at first very successful; but the treacherous Ghibelline ally of Florence, Mustino della Scala, having got possession of Lucca turned against the very state he had pledged himself to assist. Then the Florentines allied themselves to the Venetians, who having afterwards secured their own interests, as was ever their practice, sacrificed their allies, and the betrayed men of Florence suffered many disasters which they ascribed to their magistrates. These functionaries were highly unpopular just now, having been obliged to lay on fresh taxes, which ever has a prejudicial effect on the character of statesmen, insomuch that a minister who has been well spoken of before, when he imposes a

new tax, becomes very cordially and universally hated. This is an infirmity of human nature, not peculiar to any particular age or country. However, the Florentines highly discontented and democrats as they were, got on a sudden wearied of their boundless freedom, and wished for a dictator. At this critical period, in 1342, Gualtier de Brienne, Duke of Athens, a French nobleman, but born in Greece, passed through Florence, —this man having no real virtue to recommend him, but being artful, designing, and an expert soldier, was created in a moment captain of the militia, next he was made president of the tribunals, and lastly commander of the forces of the republic; thus he grasped the civil and military authority at once; and then this ungrateful adventurer aimed at no less than the sovereignty of Tuscany. He excited one faction against the other, deceived, cajoled, and corrupted the people in order to enslave them. When Florence was in a ferment, this false tyrant called a parliament in the public square on the 8th of September; the rabble proclaimed him sovereign of Florence for life, stormed the public palace, expelled the Gonfalonier and the Priori, and established their idol in unlimited power.

If this base usurper had succeeded in his designs, all was lost in Florence; he had nearly become master of it, for he possessed all the qualities of a tyrant, was clever, deep, remorseless, and unscrupulous.

He insulted this noble city for ten months, perpetrating every conceivable act of oppression; conspiracies were formed, but as quickly discovered; at last, said the Duke, "I will summon to a council 300 of the most eminent citizens, and as each enters the palace I will have him murdered." The guests, suspecting his highness, refused, very judiciously the invitation, and

while the Duke paraded his cavalry in the streets, in a moment the people cried, "To arms!" "Liberty!" overpowered the soldiers, stormed the palace, and so terrified this despot, that he crept away by night, with what money he could collect, cheating his soldiers of their pay.

Thus did the brave Florentines recover their much loved freedom. Then did they cultivate letters, poetry, and the fine arts with splendid success, and busied themselves with fresh reforms, and in watching their enemies. Every day, however, the situation of the republic became more critical, and various were the conflicts maintained by it against the aggressive states which surrounded them. A bitter war was carried on against Pope Gregory XI., who, unlike what a Pope should be, behaved towards Florence with the blackest treachery; and, in 1375, a league was formed amongst several of the republics to combine in defence of their common interests. The wicked Pontiff was chastised, and things grew quiet.

We now arrive at the year 1378, an important epoch in the history of the commonwealth; as must necessarily be the case, the citizens were, some rich, others poor, and the corporations were divided into twenty-one trades, the seven higher being distinguished by the name of *Arti Maggiori*. From amongst these latter, the magistrates were generally chosen, being merchants rich as princes, and having, moreover, virtue and ability for government. These great families, like our old Whig and Tory, were opposed to each other and could never agree. There was the Albizzi and the Ricci: the first was the Guelph, or aristocratic faction; the second, Ricci, not so grand, as they had grown rich somewhat later: they had united with them the Strozzi, Scali, and

the Medici. The names of these last celebrated merchants were never heard of till the middle of this century, and then they pretended to be zealous for liberty and democracy.

And here I must stop to introduce this respectable family to the notice of my reader more particularly, for though not given to heraldry, I like honest genealogy, when it is to be had. That of the Medici was curious. They were descended from a crafty apothecary; the pill-box flourished on the crest of these humble followers of Galen. They imported drugs, they extended their business, became merchants, sold spices, traded to the east, established banks, lent money on usury, and turned their capital in any way they could. Success attended their exertions, and by degrees immense wealth was amassed, and employed as we shall hereafter see.

Salvestro de Medici, in 1378, was chosen gonfalonier by lot, and took an active part against the Albizzi, a faction who wished to banish from Florence many worthy men whom they called Ghibellines, by a tyrannic process termed admonition. Salvestro got this law abolished in a council of the people, which was a very wise and honest thing to do. But, as sometimes happens, out of this reform sprang a tumult, which turned the state upside down; and for what?—why, because the good citizens who followed the woollen trade had not so high a rank as their fellow subjects who dealt in silk. A nice point of etiquette this, which required deep statesmanship to settle. It was demanded that three new corporations should be established, including dyers, weavers, and fullers, all in fact engaged in the woollen business, and that the magistrates should be selected also from amongst them, as forming excellent stuff for statesmanship. These people were most im-

properly scoffed at, and called by a nickname *Ciompi*. Instead of doing what was just in this affair, the Signoria arrested a popular leader and put him to the torture; whereupon the ciompi flew to arms, besieged the podesta, and in fact upset the government; and now it was not to some, but all the offices of the state, the men of stuff were appointed.

One Michele Lando, in a short waistcoat and bare feet, who had carried the standard during the tumult, was somewhat suddenly elected gonfalonier, and a capital governor this weaver proved to be, for he composed all disorder, reformed in moderation, and did justice. He was a bright example to the Medici, of whom so much has been written removed from truth. However, these ciompi were deemed too vulgar for the fine gentlemen of Florence, and did not long hold power; for, at the ensuing election, Scali, Salvestro de Medici, and Benedetto Alberti, were able to gain the direction of affairs, and would not permit the unadorned ciompi so much as to sit amongst them. These leaders then said, their opponents the Albizzi were plotting against the state, and on this pretence put to death several who had served their country with advantage and glory. Thus the spirit of the Medici early shewed itself; the world believed the sufferers innocent. However, soon after, things came to a crisis, for Scali presumed to brave the tribunals of justice, and rescue prisoners, and pillage the palaces of the government.

Benedetto Alberti resented this, for he was a real republican, and turned against his associate, who was seized, arraigned, condemned to death, and speedily executed; a vigorous and highly useful example. Then the party of the rich merchants, joining the Albizzi, shouted hurra for the Guelphs, and took possession of

all civil offices, created a *balia*, a supreme parliament, abolished every law which the men of wool the Ciompi had made, banished their leaders, and in the usual course of patriotism filled all offices of honour and emolument with their friends. Well, the son of Salvestro de Medici, Veri, did no evil, and died in good repute as did his father; and we arrive at the times of Giovanni de Medici, who seems to have been the best apothecary of the family, amassed wealth and enjoyed it in moderation, was affable in manner and temperate in his ambition. He had two sons, Cosmo and Lorenzo, and when the worthy man approached his death, as the patriarchs did before him, he summoned his children to his bed-side, and gave them excellent advice, which it is to be regretted they did not always follow. He exhorted his sons to be just, moderate, gentle, and to accept only such honours as should be bestowed by the laws, doing no violence to the constitution; and so having spoken, in the year 1428 he died; and how the families of his sons obeyed this parental admonition, the sequel will shew.

Cosmo was born 1389, Lorenzo in 1394. The field of virtue in Italy was now contracting, for liberty was declining while spies and conspirators abounded. Florence oft risked its safety to preserve the balance of power in Italy, and even contended chivalrously for the general freedom. Meanwhile the Florentines, somewhat inconsistently, conquered and held Pisa, which famous republic, stripped of liberty, lost its prosperity, having nothing left but its celebrated cathedral to tell us what a splendid commonwealth it was, and by contrast how fallen it is.

Florence, in like manner, relieved some other small republics near them of independence, and manufac-

turing silks and stuffs, and trading, and lending money, and banking, was very flourishing, and renowned through Europe. But to proceed with our narrative. The Albizzi, who, as we have seen, extinguished the radical party, amongst whom the Medici might be ranked, governed the republic from 1381 to 1434 with unexampled ability and success. Sismondi is so highly pleased with their behaviour, that he says no aristocratic faction ever merited a more brilliant place in history, a very flattering character, from a competent critic, which makes it needless for me to add a word. This epoch was the most prosperous of the republic, and many great men were then born whose actions and talents redounded, although unfairly, to the honour of the Medici.

Cosmo de Medici* now appeared on the stage of

* "Cosmo of Medicis was a father of a line of princes whose name and age are almost synonymous with the restoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books was often imported in the same vessel. The genius and education of his grandson, Lorenzo, rendered him not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, distress was entitled to relief, and merit, to reward; his leisure hours were delightfully spent in the Platonic Academy; he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles, and Angelo Politian; and his active missionary James Lascaris, returned from the East with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, fourscore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe."

This is quite characteristic of Gibbon; but we should remember as Augustus gained the credit of having elicited the wit of Horace and the poetry of Virgil, although in truth these writers belonged to the latter days of the republic, so Lorenzo has gained a reputation which belongs properly to the republic of Florence.

political life, having not only great wealth, but the advantage of a descent from a revolutionary demagogue, which was a feather in his cap. However, it would be no little error to suppose that he was a radical; Cosmo was a lover of absolute authority in his heart, but, like a discreet person, he was reserved and prudent. Chosen gonfalonier in 1416, Cosmo kept open house, invited the learned, patronized art, feasted the poor—a short road to popularity. Rinaldo Albizzi grew jealous of Cosmo, whom he accused of plotting against the state, and arrested in 1433, expecting to get him condemned to death; but the sentence was only banishment for a term, and Cosmo, bribing his guards, got off to Venice, where he enjoyed himself till quieter times should come.

All this was managed through the medium of a parliament of the whole people, called together in the great square by the sounding of a bell, and who voted everything by acclamation, and in this way elected a balia, who chose the magistracy and excluded the Medici. But such clamorous assemblies did nothing well, for the new parliament reversed all the doings of the previous one, and, exactly in a year, 1434, Cosmo was recalled, and, very fairly, Albizzi, in his turn, was banished. Thenceforward, during his life, Cosmo held the real power of the commonwealth; if he (with the Doge of Venice Foscari) had made a league with Milan, then a brilliant republic, the liberties of Italy would have been saved; but such was not the intention of Cosmo. His ambition was to make his family supreme in Florence, and the superiority of his wealth, connections, and talents, enabled him to effect his purpose. The mode, however, he took to accomplish his object deserves to be well noted. He paid the

utmost deference to popular opinion; all the forms of the constitution were preserved, the state was still apparently governed by a council of ten citizens, and a gonfaloniere elected every two months, and, seeing the old customs respected, the good citizens imagined all was well, but, in reality, the Medici either held themselves, or named their friends, to every important office in the republic.

It was remarked, also, that Cosmo never assisted the cause of liberty abroad; he refused the alliance of Milan, established a despot in Bologna, and laid the foundations of the absolute authority of his family. But he had read the history of Cæsar Augustus well, and learned how that crafty tyrant, unlike the bold Julius, maintained his authority and governed Rome with absolute sway, by preserving the senate and all the forms of liberty, to shield his tyranny from the vulgar gaze of the people.

So did Cosmo; and when he died, the obsequious signoria wrote for his epitaph, "The father of his country;" it ought to have been the enslaver of its freedom. In one sense, however, he deserved the title; for, when he returned from banishment, he did not put to death quite so many of his children as was expected.

Cosmo passed for a man of letters, without having written any clever book, and wished, with pardonable vanity, to be known as the Mæcenas of his age.

In this period, it is curious to observe how justice was administered, a matter respecting which the men of Florence were very particular. There was nothing they sought for with so much diligence as an honest podesta, who would administer justice to all impartially. As this functionary had power over the lives of the people, it was very necessary he should be honest and im-

partial; such a judge was difficult to be got then, and, in Tuscany, may be somewhat scarce even now. These podestæ were strangers, and chosen from Padua or Bologna, or some friendly city, and the doctors of the civil law in these sites of learning were, no doubt, quite on the alert to be picked out for a service so honourable, and withal so profitable.

When selected, they set out for Florence with their serjeants and officers of justice, and were received with great respect, lodged in a fine old palace, and rewarded with a munificent salary; all which was done in an excellent spirit. When these high functionaries left office, they had to render an account of their doings before a syndicate charged with the examination of their conduct.

So did the wise men of Florence behave as respected their judges.

Had the republic lasted till our day, we could have sent to it, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, lawyers, two hundred fifty and three, who would sleep in the palace, dine with the *priori*, fill their bags with the bright gold coin of Florence, and, moreover, administer justice to all indifferently.

Meanwhile in Florence some were vastly rich, many poor, and inequality of wealth increased the political influence of some and diminished that of others. Artizans were quite excluded; an upstart aristocracy ruled the state, at the head of which were Neri Capponi, the ablest statesman, and Cosmo de Medici, the richest man. They managed matters very well; but their retainers clutched every employment, imposed unequal taxes, relieving the rich, oppressing the poor, selling their influence, and corrupting justice. The acute observers of Florence saw their beautiful republic would be un-

dermined, unless they could shake off this corrupting influence which destroyed them. So when Nero Capponi died, the council refused to call a new parliament to replace the balia, whose power expired on the 1st July, 1455. This was almost a final effort in a constitutional way to regain freedom. The commonwealth flourished once more, justice was impartial, taxation equal, and corruption checked.

This hateful aristocracy tried to recover their power, and for a while failed; while Cosmo enjoyed their disappointment, for HE wished to have them his dependant creatures, THEY to grasp the profits of corruption through him. Meanwhile the people were free. But Cosmo saw this reality of liberty would be fatal to his power; and so, when Lucas Pitti, vain, unscrupulous, and rich, was gonfalonier in 1458, Cosmo combined with him to reimpose the yoke upon Florence, and these deceitful men thus accomplished their base project. Pitti summoned a parliament, but not till he had filled every approach to the public square with armed soldiers. The people supposed to be free were surrounded in the circle, and allowed to deliberate with the sword's point at their throats. Frightened and powerless, they submitted to the hard necessity, and a balia was extorted, composed of men more violent than ever before had been chosen as the depositaries of power. This council clutched all power, and used it most unjustly; they banished some citizens, because they loved liberty, and even put others to death for no better reason.

Such was the infamous behaviour of one of the best of the Medici, called, as I have said, "the father of his country."

Cosmo de Medici had two sons, Pietro and Gio-

vanni; the first was gouty, the second died before he held power in the state, which, perhaps, was a happy thing for his morals and reputation. This model of virtue had also an illegitimate son named Carlo de Medici, whom he placed in Rome to buy manuscripts.

Pietro de Medici married a citizen's daughter, by whom he had two sons, Lorenzo, born 1st January, 1448, and Giuliano, born 1453. He had likewise two daughters, Nannina, married to Bernardo Bucellai, and Bianca, who was wedded to Gulielmo de Pazzi.

When his second son died, old Cosmo moralized as he sauntered through his palace, observing very feelingly and very truly, "This is too great a house for so small a family." But although he spoke so sensibly, he did not abate his pride or his ambition. We have an account of his death, which is very edifying. He bewailed his lot, and then, by way of suitable consolation, begged a friend to read to him from the treatise of Xenocrates on death, which mightily composed him.

It would have been too much to expect from so great a man any belief in Christianity, or resort for consolation to the oracles of God. The heathen mock philosophy of Cosmo did not, however, diminish his attention to business. The merchant broke out to the very last—"*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*" He loved his ledger, and, calling for his books, his wife, and gouty son, he explained minutely how the accounts stood, and what debts were due, and methodically settled a balance sheet. Then, satisfied with all that he had done, at the age of seventy-five years he died, whatever he may have seemed outwardly, as complete a despot in heart as any of his family. He desired to possess absolute power, without appearing to assume it.

But let us proceed. When "the father of his country" died, his son Pietro naturally desired to tread in the steps of so wise a parent; and do what he could the more perfectly to subdue his country, but he at first found a rival in Lucas Pitti. Nobody who has visited Florence, is ignorant of the Pitti palace, in which the Grand Duke of Tuscany resides. Vast and splendid as it is, this was meant as the private residence of Lucas Pitti, a vain, ambitious merchant, who now aimed at the sovereign power of state. This profligate man, when building the palace he never enjoyed, stipulated with each citizen to whom he sold his protection, for a block of marble, or log of rare wood, or bit of precious metal, to help on his work; all the while bent on corrupting and enslaving his country as best he could.

It is satisfactory to know, that his detestable character became perfectly understood and hated by his countrymen. But it shews the real designs and nature of the Medici, *i. e.* of old Cosmo and his son Pietro, that they united themselves to such a wretch, though only to use him as their tool. "*Noscitur a sociis,*" is a golden maxim! and thus, through Lucas Pitti, we understand the Medici.

This audacious traitor at first wished to be sole master of Florence—and he had a chance—as Pietro de Medici was weak and gouty, and therefore did not seem so very formidable a rival. Moreover, Pietro had grown somewhat unpopular just now; for, embarrassed by politics, business, and commerce, he conceived the idea of calling in his debts, limiting his trade, and investing money in the purchase of land, a thrifty speculation. This naturally vexed his debtors, who supported the political schemes of the Medici only so long as they

were not called upon to pay, consequently they grumbled excessively.

Pietro might be at this time forty-eight years old; his son, Lorenzo, sixteen, a prodigy of parts, and the pride of his family. He was tall and robust rather than elegant, but had a weak voice and no sense of smell, rather an advantage I should say sometimes in Italy. Dark clouds now began to overcast the political horizon of Italy: we are approaching the times of vile intrigue and open assassination. Lucas Pitti quarrelled with the Medici; the friends of liberty recovered courage, refused to renew the balia, the power of which ended 1st Sept. 1465, and the liberal party were successful; magistrates for a time freely chosen, and justice done. Lucas Pitti then resorted to conspiracy, and it is believed by all, plotted the assassination of Pietro de Medici, who was generally carried in a chair, being gouty, from his villa to the city. Lorenzo himself left the villa before his father, found the road beset by armed men, and naturally suspecting their object was to kill his respected parent, warned him to travel by a different road, and thus Pietro escaped, and Lorenzo was applauded for his ready wit. This plot having failed, the unscrupulous Lucas Pitti at once separated from the liberal party, and attached himself to the Medici; and, on the other hand, Pietro de Medici shook hands with one who he knew had desired to kill him. And why were these good men reconciled? the better to enslave a city which had still virtue enough to exist as a vigorous and free republic. These worthy allies were well matched, reconciled. They agreed to call a parliament, and to act together in controlling it: they did so, and surrounded the great square with armed mercenaries, to terrify the people. But one knave is ever false to his

companions. Pietro de Medici contrived (2d Sept., 1466) to exclude from the balia all the partisans of Pitti, and admit all his own. Thus was Lucas Pitti rightly repaid, and quickly he sunk into universal contempt. Then the Medici, shewing their true nature, fined, imprisoned, and banished the best citizens of Florence. Most cities were filled with Florentine emigrants, and Italy was astonished at the exile of so many illustrious persons. These brave men hired a famous captain, one Bartolomeo Coglione, and invaded the Florentine territory; but the lower classes remained quiescent, business was good, wages high, commerce and manufactures flourished; and, saith the historian, the Medici entertained them with shows and festivals, keeping them in a sort of perpetual carnival, amidst which the people lost for a time all thoughts of liberty.

Pietro de Medici, ever infirm in health, was obliged to confide the exercise of the despotism he had usurped to five citizens, who conducted all the business of the state, appropriated all the profits, gratified their vengeance, and perverted justice. It is due to the memory of Pietro to say that he was thoroughly disgusted with the disorder and corruption he saw around him. In vain were his reprimands; at last he conceived the idea of recalling the many excellent patriots whom he had exiled, but, before he could accomplish his good intentions, he died on the 2d Dec., 1462, leaving his sons Lorenzo and Giuliano to succeed him.

I must here introduce to my readers, in connection with the Medici, an English scholar who has identified himself with their name and history,—Mr. Roscoe; and if, with that ingenious writer and zealous biographer, we believe the encouragement of poets, the purchase of pictures, the building of palaces, and the writing of

verses, to constitute a great character, then was Lorenzo de Medici a very magnificent fellow; and magnificent, moreover, on cheap terms, at others' expense.

Lorenzo began his career by falling into love and writing amatory verses; this was very natural; but his diligent biographer has not been able to discover the fair object of his attachment. Petrarch had his Laura, Dante his Beatrice—but for what distinguished beauty did Lorenzo burn? This must remain buried, I fear, for ever in obscurity, unless some historian, diligent as Mr. Roscoe, should be enabled to clear up the interesting affair of harmless gallantry in a future work. However, if Lorenzo could not ogle his beloved all day, he sat up all night to write sonnets on her beauty. The subject was inspiring and improved his style. It must not be supposed Lorenzo was really in love, he was too sensible a man for that: it answered him much better to feign affection for the object of his mysterious passion. He quickly abandoned this phantom of his love, and in sober earnest, like many men before and since, married a good woman whom he knew but little, and for whom he cared less. "He took her to wife, or rather," said Lorenzo, "she was given to me." It was better to begin with a little dislike,—domestic felicity in due time followed. This happy marriage took place shortly before the death of Pietro, which sad event occurred Dec. 3d, 1469. The grand recommendation of Pietro's life is, that he was father of such a patriot as Lorenzo.

We now begin an uncommonly interesting chapter. Lorenzo de Medici had laid aside his youthful folly and turned steadily to business; great things were expected from him, and it must be confessed he disappointed not the general expectation. He pursued suc-

cessfully the crafty policy of his family, much to the satisfaction of Mr. Roscoe, who has, with so little hesitation or misgiving, eulogized his life. That life, owing to the tragic event I am now to relate, had near been glorious, no doubt, but brief. However, it would have been a famous thing to have perished like Cæsar, although not by patriotic hands.

CHAPTER XII.

LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

Era of Conspiracy.—Lorenzo's mercantile Policy.—The Pazzi.—Nice Reasonings on Murder.—Hanging of an Archbishop.—Lorenzo's Magnificence.—Pope Sixtus IV.—Pope Innocent and his Offspring.—Lorenzo's Institution of a permanent Senate.—Leisure Occupations.—Private Tastes of Lorenzo.—His Son the Cardinal.—Savonarola the Monk.—Savonarola at Lorenzo's Death-bed.—Character of Lorenzo.—Mr. Roscoe's erroneous Views.

We have arrived at the times of conspiracy—fatal proof the day of freedom has nearly set. The rash attempt of Bernardo Nardi, an emigrant, to surprise Prato, failed; the unfortunate Bernardo was taken prisoner and sent to Florence, where Lorenzo had him beheaded. Lorenzo then looked into his affairs, extended his traffic with the East, rented vast mines through Italy, and established banks everywhere, raising the rate of interest, whenever he could, to the highest penny. Sixtus IV. became very friendly; Lorenzo immediately opened a bank in Rome, was made treasurer to the Holy See, and did the business by his uncle as deputy, who bought, on as cheap terms as he could, the rich jewels of the papal crown, and then sold them at the highest price to the sovereigns of Europe. In this questionable manner Lorenzo prospered. He also, in a visit to Rome, picked up as cheap as he could cameos and busts, and medals, and carried them

off to make a show at Florence. But Pope Sixtus did not always relish the practices of his banker, whose accounts, I have no doubt, required to be sharply investigated. The Pope himself was no great things; he had sons whom he called nephews, and made cardinals and church dignitaries, and one of them archbishop of Florence. Soon after a profligate tyrant, named Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, was assassinated as he quitted the church by three noble youths named Olgiati; they practised their dagger exercise, said prayers, and killed the tyrant: but the Milanese people no longer cared for liberty, the patriots were deserted, two of them cut down, the third taken alive, only to have his flesh torn from him with red hot pincers on the scaffold. As this rival of Brutus was a man of literature, he perished exclaiming, "*Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti.*"

Next followed the famous conspiracy of the Pazzi, at Florence, immortalized by Alfieri. One of this wealthy family, as already mentioned, was married to a sister of Lorenzo. The family of the Pazzi had possessed great political power in the state, and wished to have it still. The Medici, however, very affectionately thrust them out of the administration of public affairs. Moreover, a family pique began, and the Medici resolved to punish their ambitious relatives. Macchiavelli thus explains the cause of the quarrel which led to results so fatal:—

"When the Medici had humbled all those that *openly* opposed them, and afterwards aspired to take the reins of government into their own hands, it became necessary likewise to depress all such as were *secretly* combining against them. For as long as they continued upon any sort of equality with other families of authority and reputation, those citizens who envied their growing power might publicly oppose them, and

without fear of being crushed in their first attempts, whilst the magistrates were still free and independent. But after the Medici had gained such an ascendent in 1466, they grew so powerful that they in a manner engrossed the government of the republic wholly to themselves, and their power was so great, that such as were disaffected to their administration, were either obliged to submit to it with patience, or endeavoured to shake off the yoke by clandestine machinations and conspiracies.

"Lorenzo therefore would not suffer Giacopo de Pazzi, nor any of his brothers or nephews, to enjoy such honours and offices as they seemed to desire in common with their fellow-citizens."

One of the Pazzi had married the only daughter of Giovanni Borromeo, the richest citizen of Florence, to whose inheritance the young Pazzi naturally expected to succeed, but, at Borromeo's death, the Medici got a law passed on a decision pronounced, by which male issue in the collateral line were to inherit, to the exclusion of daughters, and thus Pazzi lost his prize. A brother of this Pazzi, named Francesco, now quitted Florence in a rage and established himself at Rome. The Pope espoused his cause, dismissed Lorenzo, and appointed Francesco banker in his stead. This was a blow to Lorenzo, for the banking business is, even to this day, the most flourishing in Italy—money-changers ranking only after the princes of royal blood; and so there grew a very serious quarrel between the noble families of the Medici and Pazzi. Mr. Roscoe will insist Lorenzo was innocent of passing the unjust law, but by other writers he is mightily suspected. Machiavelli says—

"This decision was made chiefly, as the Pazzi thought, by the influence and secret practices of the Medici."

And then adds—

"Giuliano de Medici himself, however, was so offended at this violent manner of proceeding, that he often used to remonstrate against it, and told his brother Lorenzo he was afraid they should lose what they had already had by grasping at too much. But Lorenzo, in the full career of youth and power, paid little regard to these admonitions, being determined to govern according to his own will and pleasure, and that every one should acknowledge what they had as proceeding from his favour."

In the "History of the Criminal Justice of Tuscany," in reference to the part taken by Lorenzo in this matter, it is written—

"*Egli spinse il potere a violare gli ordini della giustizia civile con dettare leggi retroattive a danno ed inguria dei Pazzi, e con farli perseguitare dagli otto messe in pericolo la vita propria e suscitò una catastrofe tremenda nella congiura Pazziana.*"

Sismondi adopts a similar view.

These authorities detract somewhat from the partial opinion of Mr. Roscoe. Honesty is the best policy: the result proved that; and well would it have been for the Medici, or at least for Florence, had Lorenzo and his successors remembered the advice of the good old apothecary from whom they sprung.

The Pazzi conspired, and admitted many friends to their secret, including one archbishop, and some say the pope himself, the brother of the archbishop a priest, and several other pious and respectable gentlemen. They secured the aid of an armed force which was to menace Florence, and they determined to kill Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano at the same moment, and then

cry out liberty in order to establish their despotism, under the patronage of the wicked old pope. At first they resolved to stab the Medici at a feast given by Lorenzo at Fiesole, but, although the conspirators were ready, Guiliano did not come, and so the business could not be accomplished; they missed a second opportunity also, and finally resolved to assassinate the brothers during a religious ceremony in the cathedral itself, at which both the Medici would certainly be present. The parts were allotted suitably to the character of the several conspirators.

The archbishop, odd enough, was to storm the palace; but here a serious difficulty arose, which never once occurred to the men of religion, a case of conscience, for the captain of adventurers, one Battista da Montesecco, who had agreed to kill Lorenzo, which he was perfectly willing to do, declared against it, when the cathedral was fixed on as the scene of the assassination. The time, also, affected him, for the assassins were to strike at the very moment the priest, in performing mass, raised the host, and as the Medici, in common with the whole congregation, devoutly knelt. The captain reasoned thus: "I have undertaken to kill Lorenzo at a feast, and I will perform my promise, for to murder in the usual way of business I have no manner of objection; but I refuse to kill a man in church; that is a thing I never did, and never will do. Sacrilege I abhor." This soldier evidently believed killing, merely, was no murder.

What was now to be done? In this difficulty recourse was had, horrible to relate, to two priests, who, saith the historian, "accustomed to live in churches, and perform the offices of religion, felt neither respect nor fear for sacred things." The conscientious scruples

of the captain saved Lorenzo. All the assassins went punctually to church on the 26th of April, 1478. The Medici were at a little distance from each other. Mass began. At the elevation of the host, Giuliano received a mortal wound, and staggered, when Francesco de Pazzi furiously assailed and stabbed him in many parts of the body. Lorenzo was more lucky, his assailant, feeling his body gently, to find the spot where best to strike, roused the suspicions of Lorenzo, so he parried the blow aimed at him, drew his sword, and the priests fled. The assassins, who had despatched Giuliano, rushed after Lorenzo, but he escaped into the sacristy. His friends rallied, and the murderer rushed out of the the church. The assassin priests were quickly cut to pieces. The friends of the Medici were everywhere successful, for when the wicked archbishop, at the head of his band, entered the palace of the signoria, he found the stout gonfalonier surrounded, as he ought to be, by his brother councillors, in deep deliberation. The moment the gonfalonier looked at the excited face of the archbishop, he suspected villany, sprang to the door, found a miscreant behind it, whom he felled to the earth, secured the palace, seized the archbishop, and with the implements of the kitchen over-mastered his followers.

Such was the conduct of the brave councillors of Florence; but they did not stop here; speedy justice they admired and practised, and, accordingly, forthwith flung out of the lofty windows most of the conspirators; the archbishop was treated with peculiar respect; in his prelatical robes, his grace was hanged from the window-frame of the old palace, a terrible spectacle, as his body swung before the populace. Francesco de Pazzi was suspended near the archbishop, and such was

his fury, that the prelate seized the naked body of his friend with his teeth, and relaxed not his gripe even in the agonies of death.

Such was the deserved fate of the archbishop of Pisa, and, I verily believe, if the sturdy burghers of Florence could have seized the Pope, they would have hanged his holiness also, for so confused were their ideas of religion, and so scanty their respect for mother-church, that they considered priests who had lent themselves to murder were worse offenders than other men, and should be dealt with accordingly. In truth, the arch-bishop and his priests were concealed infidels, and as they believed nothing, so they feared nothing. Lorenzo sent all the way to Constantinople for Baudini, who had assassinated Giuliano, and, obtaining possession of the murderer, through the kindness of the sultan, enjoyed the satisfaction of cutting off his head in Florence. Two hundred citizens, hostile to the house of Medici, were put to death in consequence of this conspiracy, and many other severities were practised.

It is worthy observation, in estimating the real character of Lorenzo, that he never interposed his authority to afford a fair trial to any person accused of favouring the conspiracy of the Pazzi. The legal writer I have before quoted, remarks of the administration of the criminal justice in Florence, at this time :—

"Dai giudizi criminale in quella tumultuosa occorrenza brogliati non può rilevarsi qual fosse allora l'ordinario corso della procedura, attesochè o il popolo in massa, o il tribunale con obbedienza passiva non fece altro che ordinare *il sacrifizio delle vittime*, che li vennero designate dall' odio e dal sospetto dei Medici."

Thus, justice was not the object of Lorenzo, but a sacrifice of the victims of his hatred or revenge.

Lorenzo now became absolute master of the republic, and, as might be expected, laid aside the simplicity of republican manners. The merchant's son was addressed by the title of most magnificent lord, and endeavoured, by pomp and splendid living, to supply the want of that rank he coveted.

Giuliano was a handsome youth, and not very moral. He intrigued with a lady of family, and left an illegitimate son, then an infant, whom Lorenzo undertook to patronize, and did it so successfully, that the child of immorality became no less a man than Clement the Seventh, Pope of Rome. He proved himself a true Medici in one respect, in his hatred to liberty. He destroyed, as will be seen, according to the lessons taught him by his magnificent uncle, the freedom of his country. Through him the vulgar family of the Medici were united to the royal house of France, and reached the splendour of royalty. In his day, however, mankind received one great blessing—the Reformation—and Papal despotism received a blow from which it never recovered.

To resume, Pope Sixtus IV. was highly incensed at the daring act of hanging the archbishop. Forthwith he excommunicated Lorenzo, branding him "the child of iniquity" and "the nurseling of perdition." His holiness, who had no idea of his will being disputed, demanded of the republic that Lorenzo and the trusty town councillors should be delivered up to summary justice, as the Pope ironically termed it. His holiness declared it was a gross disrespect to the church to hang an archbishop, no matter what his crime, and that Lorenzo and his associates should answer for it

with their lives. However, on the part of Florence, the Bishop of Arezzo summoned a kind of convocation and retorted the Pope's accusations, denying, oddly enough, that the infallible head of the church was infallible. Italy declared in favour of the Pope, and Florence was placed in a very critical position. Tuscany was overrun with hostile armies; a battle was fought near the ancient Thrasymenus with success, but afterwards the Florentines were defeated, and Lorenzo trembled for his safety. Just at this moment it was hinted to him by the Neapolitan government that the king of Naples, Ferdinand, was not ill disposed towards him, and that his wisest course would be to visit Naples, and in person procure a peace, which in truth the king was not unwilling to grant, and a Neapolitan galley lying in Leghorn was offered to convey him on this important errand. His biographer would have it, this bold expedient was suggested by the great genius of Lorenzo, who wrote a very pretty letter on the occasion of his departure to the States of Florence; but in truth Loronzo was most unwilling, and went only because he was so advised and could do no better. His reception was gracious, and, knowing the tastes of that people, Lorenzo entertained the Neapolitans with splendid shows and feasts, all of which they keenly relished; and he even insisted on portioning young women from all parts of the country, in so much that many matches were made which but for Lorenzo might never have taken place. Thus by a parade of wealth, all at the expense of the good men of Florence,* Lo-

* Macchiavelli asserts, that, owing to the extravagance of his factors, Lorenzo was often obliged to borrow large sums of the public. The Council of Seventy would be very convenient auditors before whom to settle his accounts with the commonwealth.

renzo made a favourable impression on the accomplished population of Naples, who, if then resembling what they are now, must have been a truly dignified people. Lorenzo was quite at home in the arts of cajolery and intrigue. The Pope begged of Ferdinand to hand Lorenzo over to him, I suppose that he might hang Lorenzo in return for his having hanged the archbishop, but Ferdinand being a man of honour refused. Meanwhile with the king Lorenzo used all his skill—represented what a grasping power the papal was, ever dangerous to Italy, and that if Naples and Florence combined they could curb Rome; that if the French got into Italy they would clutch it for themselves; and several other arguments of equal sagacity did Lorenzo use, which shewed how clearly he could read the characters of sovereigns and appreciate their tastes. He likewise undertook to sacrifice the republic of Siena to the Duke of Calabria, and pay a round sum of money to the king himself; so upon the whole he squeezed a peace out of Ferdinand, and returned in high glee to Florence, where the credulous people received him with exultation, believing him their deliverer, and that now their liberties would be fully secured, whereas in truth the conspiracy of the Pazzi arose out of the injustice of the Medici, and the war of revenge ensued, and the Florentines were the sufferers. In fact, Mahomet III. by his invasion frightened all Italy, and the different states were glad to compose their quarrels for a time, and combine against the Turk.

How Lorenzo now deported himself we shall see: he had a noble opportunity of establishing the free constitution of Florence on a firm basis. The true character of the man appeared. A second attempt to assassinate Lorenzo failed, and he, having executed the offenders,

grew bolder than ever. Pope Sixtus IV. at last released the Florentines from the excommunication under which they had suffered, and then good naturedly died. His successor, Innocent VIII., had several illegitimate children, and Lorenzo, having ascertained the real disposition of the new pontiff, and finding him to be corrupt and weak, determined to secure his friendship and have future popes of his own if he could; and, by the help of this profligate pope, Lorenzo accomplished every thing he could possibly have desired. In Florence, this polished despot carefully considered how best he could permanently enslave his beautiful country, and accordingly, he devised a plan which seems to have imposed upon his elegant biographer, who praises Lorenzo for an act which, in reality, perfected the subjugation of the republic.

"There is, writes that accomplished gentleman,* reason to conjecture that the Florentine government, although sufficiently vigorous for internal regulation, was inadequate to the exertions of external warfare. The hand that may steer a vessel through the tranquil ocean may be unable to direct the helm amidst the fury of the storm. Lorenzo, after the restoration of the public tranquillity, recommended and obtained the establishment of a body of seventy citizens, who, in the nature of a senate, were to deliberate and decide on all the transactions of government, as well in the affairs of peace as of war. This institution, for which he might have pleaded the example of the Spartan legislator, was probably intended not only to give a greater degree of stability and energy to the government, but to counteract the democratic spirit which was supposed to have risen to a dangerous excess, and to operate as a safeguard against an abuse, which

* Mr. Roscoe.

was certainly the destruction of all the free states of antiquity—the exercise of the powers of government by the immediate interference of the citizens at large."

This is very plausible, and Mr. Roscoe appends a note taken from Hume and Harrington, to prove that all free governments should consist of two councils, a lesser and a greater, a senate and a people. All this might be true, if the senate were indeed appointed by the people, or by those whom they had freely elected; but, if packed by the creatures of Lorenzo, it would be but a shabby counterfeit senate—a poor substitute for the vigorous, honest, councils of the republic, freely chosen from the citizens at large. This permanent council (so chosen by a *balia* which had no authority to transfer its powers) was to exercise the highest judicial and legislative and administrative jurisdiction. Thus the ancient constitution of Florence was revolutionized. A cardinal point was gained by Lorenzo, the free councils were virtually got rid of.

Let us turn to Sismondi, and contrast his manly pages with these statements of Mr. Roscoe:—

"Lorenzo de Medici, on his return from Naples to Florence, rendered still more oppressive the yoke which he had imposed on his country. He determined, above all, to efface from his authority the revolutionary and consequently transitory character which it still retained, at the same time to obliterate the memory of the sovereignty of the people, maintained by the periodical assembling of parliaments. He called one, however, on the 12th of April, 1480, which he purposed should be the last: he made that parliament create a *balia*, destined likewise to despoil itself for ever of a power which these extraordinary commissioners had in fact constantly abused. *The balia transferred to a new council of seventy members the absolute power which had been delegated*

to them by the Florentine people. That council henceforth was to form a permanent part of the constituted authorities. It was charged to exercise a general scrutiny, and to choose only those among the Florentine citizens, who were qualified for the magistracies. They were afterwards to distribute their names in the different elective purses of the signoria. They were to make a new division of the taxes, to re-establish an equilibrium in the finances, or rather to employ the money of the state in acquitting the debts of the Medici, whose immense fortune was deranged not only by the magnificence of Lorenzo, but by the profusion and disorder of his clerks, who carried on his commerce with the pomp and extravagance which they thought suitable to a prince."

A brief but pregnant narrative of a most important epoch in the constitutional history of Florence. Let me, however, extract a pithy passage from another writer:—

"Lorenzo lost no time in completing the subjugation of his country: he abolished the two national councils, substituting for them a permanent senate of seventy members, *nominated by himself*, who appointed all public officers, imposed taxes, administered the finances, and relieved their refined and literary master from the constant drudgery of government."

A concise summary of Lorenzo's constitutional reforms; he lost no time in his patriotic work. I like that expression; it shews what a man of business Lorenzo was; he ruined the liberties of Florence with all convenient speed. He believed that—

> "'Twere well
> It were done quickly:"

and acted accordingly. Henceforward Lorenzo did, as might be expected, exactly what he pleased; passed a decree to pay his own debts out of the public trea-

sury, which Mr. Roscoe says was very right, and Sismondi very wrong: the reader will judge for himself. I crave leave to observe it is easy for a man to be magnificent at other people's expense: most sovereigns are so.

Lorenzo now gave up business as a merchant, purchased land, and became the fine gentleman, erected splendid villas, planted rare trees, fattened hogs to a vast size, and imported pheasants and peacocks from Sicily. In his leisure hours, he composed amatory verses, on the merits of which I offer no opinion, only suggesting it was high time for Lorenzo, a father and "a magnificent lord," to give up the vicious propensities of his youth, and desist from writing in a loose, immoral strain. However, my opinions may be considered very old-fashioned. Lorenzo, also, encouraged classical learning, the arts, and led a life of pleasure, in so much that the youth of the country, imitating their masters, became literary sensualists and polite infidels, a sad change from the old and pious times of Florence. Lorenzo was a good family man, respected his wife, whom he could not love, and looked after his children. He had three sons who arrived at man's estate; Piero, the eldest, born 15th of July 1471, Giovanni, born 11th of December 1475, Giuliano, 1478. Of the first, we shall say a word hereafter; the second became Leo X.; the third allied himself to the royal house of France, and got the title of the Duke of Nemours.

The policy of this excellent man, Lorenzo de Medici, was to ally himself with despotic sovereigns, and plot against free republics; in this spirit, he formed alliance with Ferdinand of Naples, with the tyrant of Milan, and lastly with Pope Innocent VIII., whose confidential friend he became; and as naturally did

Lorenzo intrigue against the commonwealths of Siena, Lucca, and Genoa. The fruits of his alliance with the Pope were soon reaped. Intending his son Giovanni for the church, he applied for the kind assistance of two very influential persons in the way of conferring church preferment, the King of France and Pope Innocent VIII.; they seconded his wishes. The behaviour of the Pope was very edifying.

At seven years of age, the little Giovanni was ordained; before eight years old, he got a rich abbey, and it was proposed to make the child an archbishop before he reached his ninth year; see what an infallible church and a bountiful king can do, even dispense with the presence of reason or understanding in a bishop. The preferment, however, was offered before the old archbishop was dead, so nothing remained, but to console the little abbot with another rich abbacy, that of the monastery of Pasignano. This disposition of patronage, speculative men might think shewed the necessity of some church reform; not so thought Lorenzo; his appetite was only the more keenly whetted to seize further ecclesiastical preferment for his fine boy, who was uncommonly forward for his years, and kept a grave face from childhood, so Lorenzo resorted to every possible intrigue to get a cardinal's hat for the little abbot sent his eldest son to Rome, to cajole the Pope, who did it so effectually that his holiness declared he would forthwith make Giovanni a cardinal, in compensation of having lost the archbishopric, provided, however, his youthful eminence would labour in his studies for three years, not assume the purple till that term of probation had expired, and, moreover, would undertake to put as serious a face as possible, upon so very comical a transaction; all this was cleverly done.

Lorenzo chuckled at the gratification of his ambition, and boasted the power of Rome would be secured against any efforts which Florence might hereafter make for freedom, a thing almost as much detested by the Pope as by Lorenzo himself; and this close alliance with the papacy, accomplished through Lorenzo, should be noted as one principal cause of the ultimate and final destruction of the liberties of Florence. When the puerile cardinal went to school to Pisa, his bastard cousin Giulio, afterwards Clement VII., was his constant companion. This cousin had superior talents, for he was both priest and soldier. These promising youths prospered together, and long before the term of probation had expired, Lorenzo managed to get the cardinal child invested with the purple when he was but sixteen years old. There was a great day of rejoicing on the occasion, and the cardinal forthwith tested his apostolic powers by granting an indulgence to all who had attended the ceremony of his investiture. The cardinal soon set out for Rome, on which occasion Lorenzo wrote him a letter for his government, which reflects credit on his paternal wisdom and tenderness of heart. He exhorts the cardinal to look very grave, to persevere in his studies, to remember that Rome was the sink of all iniquity, and that many of the cardinals were dangerous fellows; that he should be the link to bind Florence closer to the church, and his family closer to the city, and to prefer the good of the apostolic See to every other consideration; not to commit himself by much speaking, and, above all things, to rise early in the morning, take exercise, and flatter the Pope—a pious manual of priestly duties, all of which the young Leo faithfully performed; and here I must observe, that as Lorenzo was suspected of being a lover

of the theology of Plato, so his son, the future Pope, was nothing of a bigot, rather the reverse.

The little cardinal felt somewhat awkward at first, when he found himself in the Consistory in very questionable company; the debauchee, the man of war, the hypocrite, were well represented in that virtuous body. Riceno, who helped to kill his uncle, and wished to kill his father, sat near him, and always turned pale, I suppose from remorse, when young Medici looked on him. This society was but ill calculated to improve the morals of the future Pope.

Lorenzo next cleverly wedded his son Piero to a daughter of Orsini, a great disturber of the peace at Rome, and then married his daughter to a son, with shame be it spoken, of the Pope, himself called Francesco Cibo. To the tyrants of Italy in general Lorenzo paid very great respect, and strengthened his power in every quarter of the Peninsula. Lorenzo now thought himself qualified to advise the Pope, and accordingly wrote a letter, which proves how well read he was in the science of jobbing. This epistle is not given in Mr. Roscoe's book; but as it discloses the real character of the man, I extract it from the pages of a sterling work, "Ranke's History of the Popes":—

"It was thought in the regular order of things that a pope should provide for his family—people would have despised one who did not. Others (writes Lorenzo to the Pope Innocent the Eighth) have not so long deferred their endeavours to be popes, and have troubled themselves little about the decorum and modesty which your holiness has for so long a time observed (flattering to the popes). Your holiness is now not only excused in the sight of God and man, but men may perhaps even censure this reserved demeanour, and ascribe it to other motives. My zeal and duty render it

a matter of conscience with me to remind your holiness that no man is immortal, that a pope is of the importance which he chooses to give himself; he cannot make his dignity hereditary, the honours and the benefits he confers on those belonging to him are all that he can call his own."

A choice production this of Lorenzo's: the jobber in heart is exhibited. The historian adds,—

"Such was the advice of him who was regarded as the wisest, that is the most crafty, man in Italy. It is true he had an interest in the matter, for his daughter was married to a son of the pope's (*oh tempora o mores!*); but he would never have ventured to express himself so unreservedly had not these views been notoriously prevalent among the higher, that is the more corrupt classes."

Lorenzo was now a happy man: he had fixed his authority, satisfied his ambition, and raised his family to greatness: he patronized the fine arts, built palaces, planted gardens, relished the conversation of learned men, and was himself heard to speak of the probability and moral necessity of a future state. Augustus Cæsar did much the same thing, and seasoned his food with the wit of Horace.

Florence, however, was now disturbed by the eloquence of a monk. The celebrated Savonarola arrived in the monastery of St. Marco, became its prior, and preached truth with impassioned fervour.

Reform in the Romish church, liberty for the republic, were demanded in trumpet tones from the pulpit.* Mr. Roscoe calls Savonarola a fanatic. This is

* In the "Life of Savonarola," written by a French author, the text on which the monk delivered his stirring discourses is given, "La crainte de Dieu, l'amour de la patrie, l'oublie des injures, et l'égalité des droits." This must have been particularly distasteful to Lorenzo and his partizans.

very natural in a writer who discerned the virtue of patriotism in a magnificent impostor.

The following passage from the "Life of Luther," will aid the reader in forming a right conception of the true character of Savonarola, and in dissipating the misapprehensions of Mr. Roscoe.

"Jerom Savonarola, a Dominican at Florence, had distinguished himself by the austerity of his life, and by the fervent eloquence with which he preached against immorality, without sparing the disorders of the clergy, nor even the Court of Rome. Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian of France, saw Savonarola at Florence, and says, 'no preacher ever had a greater influence over a city.' He foretold many things before they came to pass; but the pope excommunicated him, on a charge that his doctrine was not Catholic; and the Franciscan friars undertook to prove it heretical. *The truth is Savonarola had earnestly wished to be the instrument of calling a general council, in which the corrupt manners of the clergy might be reformed; and the state of the church of God, which deviated so far, might be reduced to as great a resemblance as possible of those days that were nearest to the times of the apostles.* The Protestant reformers considered Jerom Savonarola as a martyr, like Jerom of Prague. They called him the Luther of Italy. The Popish writers also defended his character, particularly the learned Mirandula. Luther quoted Savonarola, and prefixed a preface to his meditations, because he considered him as an author that is very orthodox upon the subject of justification, and the merit of good works," — Biographia Evangelica, vol. i.

The monk, no doubt, was heated by enthusiasm, and so produced an effect incredible upon the Florentine people; they felt the truth of what he said, and followed him in crowds. Lorenzo feared to stop the

mouth of the monk, and is praised for his forbearance; and no doubt it is astonishing he suffered so much truth to be spoken boldly in Florence. Humility and piety were hated by the Medici, who encouraged pleasure, luxury, and corruption. The preaching of the enthusiastic monk was more powerful than the influence of the wealth, artifice, and magnificence of the Medici. The masses of the people, uncorrupted, are ever on the side of liberty and virtue. Lorenzo fell sick and moralized,—"What," said he, "can be more desirable to a well regulated mind than the enjoyment of leisure with dignity." Again,—"Nor have I been inattentive to the interest and advancement of my own family, having always proposed to my imitation the example of my grandfather Cosmo:" all singularly true, the love of aggrandizement was the family virtue—corruption, of one kind or other, the means. It seems Lorenzo wrote hymns, founded convents, and might be considered a devout man. Lorenzo had wished to confess his sins, which was very commendable, and to obtain absolution which was natural, and, singular enough, Savonarola was the priest selected for these pious offices. Mr. Roscoe is angry at the idea of so sensible and distinguished a man as Lorenzo sending for a rigid monk to confess and absolve him, and would have it that Savonarola thrust himself on Lorenzo for factious purposes, that he bid Lorenzo remain a firm Catholic—behave well if he recovered, or die with fortitude—all which Lorenzo readily promised; whereupon the monk gave his benediction and departed. * Mr. Roscoe is contradicted by the authorities in his note, by several writers of ability, and, in particular, by Sismondi, who records, no doubt with truth, that Lorenzo requested from the pious monk consolation and absolution, which the monk pro-

mised on condition of repentance and reformation. 1st, The monk required Lorenzo should die a true Catholic; 2d, That if he had unjustly obtained the property of others he would restore it; with these requisitions Lorenzo promised compliance; 3d, The monk demanded Lorenzo should give back to his country the liberty of which he had despoiled it; this the tyrant refused to promise and died unabsolved, as he deserved, the 8th of April, 1492, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

That Lorenzo had talents, acquirements, and brilliant accomplishments I admit; that he deserved Mr. Roscoe's boundless panegyric I deny. He wished to establish a permanent sovereignty in his family, to rule as a polished despot, and he cultivated all the refinements of art in order to corrupt. Did he really wish to enlarge or preserve the liberties of Florence? If in the judgment of his countrymen great Cæsar deserved to die—scholar, orator, general, and historian as he was, adorned with the richest gifts of genius, because he aimed at supreme power—what opinion should be held of the trüe character of Lorenzo de Medici, who, copying the example of the most artful of tyrants, used the forms of liberty the better to undermine and destroy it. Mr. Roscoe has evidently misunderstood or misrepresented the true character of the man. What justification can be offered for the author who, professing regard for the truth of history, without a word of censure thus writes of Lorenzo de Medici:—

"It will be difficult, not to say impossible, to discover in his conduct or precepts anything that ought to stigmatize him as an enemy to the freedom of his country. The authority which he exercised was the same as that which his

ancestors had enjoyed, without injury to the republic, for nearly a century, and had descended to him as inseparable from the wealth, the respectability, and the powerful foreign connexions of his family. The superiority of his talents enabled him to avail himself of these advantages with irresistible effect, but history suggests not an instance in which they were devoted to any other purpose than that of promoting the honour and independence of the Tuscan State."

In fact, if we believe Mr. Roscoe, the subject of his biography, was an exalted patriot.

The accusations against Lorenzo are not that he meant to deliver up Florence to a foreign enemy, or betray its independence as a separate state; but they are not therefore less serious.

The charges against him are, that he meant, in pursuance of a base ambition, to subvert the liberties of the republic of which he was chief, and establish his family in the sovereignty of Florence, when, through his machinations, it had ceased to be free. The means he adopted were admirably suited to the attainment of his object.

Profuse of expenditure, splendid in his tastes, the munificent patron of arts and letters, Lorenzo attracted by his generosity a numerous train of followers, whom he rewarded and flattered. The vanity of the Florentine people he tickled by shows and gaudy spectacles, and their already vitiated tastes he endeavoured thoroughly to debase. Of the corruption of manners, he well knew how to take advantage, in order to extend and consolidate his power. An Italian jurist has clearly explained this policy.

"*E Lorenzo, succeduto a Piero nella primazia della Re-*

publica l'anno 1469 *ben seppe profittare della generale corruzione per estendere e consolidare il primato della sua famiglia.*"

The style of literature he encouraged was not favourable to the Christian religion.

Can it be believed by any impartial inquirer that Lorenzo really desired to preserve the republican form of government in Florence? His whole life contradicts this idea. A French author happily sketches his character in a sentence:—

"C'était Laurent de Medicis qui governait alors la république, et qui par gout plus encore que par politique *corrompait* les mœurs de ses concitoyens à force de fêtes publiques, de poesies licencieuses et de prodigalités."

Moreover, when lauded for his magnificence, it should be remembered it was at the expense of the republic, and that the object of his magnificence was to corrupt, in order to enslave.

In a curious little book, entitled, "Discours Merveilleux, de la vie, actions, et deportment de Catherine de Medicis," there is this amusing sentence, sarcastically explaining why the Medici were liberal to the people:—

"Cosmo et Laurent de Medicis ont été loués pour leur libéralité envérs le peuple: mais cela ne tendait qu'à tyrannie, et cette douceur n'était qu'un appât et hameçon jetté pour prendre les poissons et les manger puis après."

The idea here expressed is uncommonly pleasant; Lorenzo threw out a golden bait, that he might catch his fish, the giddy Florentines, in order to devour them.

He most undoubtedly overthrew the ancient form of choosing by popular election the magistrates, and substituted a permanent council of his creatures.

He laboured, unfortunately with success, to connect his family with Rome, aiming steadily at the papacy for his son Giovanni, afterwards Leo X.

This was clearly done to overcome, by the power of the papacy, the republicans of Florence. An admirable chief, truly, would a despotic Pope make of the commonwealth; and just such a one as Lorenzo intended, Leo proved.

The history of subsequent events will shew how completely the deep policy of Lorenzo, in effecting a close union with Rome, ruined Florence, when otherwise she would have preserved her recovered freedom.

Unquestionably Lorenzo possessed great political talents, but it is as unquestionable that he perverted them to the unholy purpose of overturning the constitution of his native country.

Alfieri, whose stern though splendid genius was designed for action, but could only vent itself in immortal verse, has composed a tragedy on the subject of the Pazzi Conspiracy, "La Congiura de Pazzi." The poet describes the Medici plotting the overthrow of the republic.

In a dialogue between the brothers, Giuliano speaks thus:—

"Cosmo ebbe lo stato,
Ma sotto aspetto di privato il tenne.
Non è pur tanto ancor perfetto il giogo,
Che noi tenerlo in principesco aspetto
Possiam securi. Ai pui, che son gli stolti,
Di lor perduta libertà le vane
Apparenze lasciamo."

Lorenzo then boasts that his ancestors had accustomed the people to a hereditary succession in the government of the State; and exults that by dispersion of their enemies, and submission of friends, the magnanimous work begun by Cosmo would soon be finished. Giuliano warns the ambitious Lorenzo in eloquent words, that to root out the seeds of liberty which nature has planted in the heart of every man, requires time, consummate art, and management; the shedding of blood represses, does not destroy them; nay, sometimes they shoot forth more vigorously from that blood.

"Fratello, il crede, 'ad estirpar que' semi
Di liberta, che in cor d'ogni uomo ha, posto
Natura, oltre i molti anni, arte, e maneggio
Vuolsi adoprar, non poco: il sangue sparso
Non gli estinque, li preme, e assai pui feri
Rigermoglian talor dal sangue."

Sylla, replies Lorenzo, used the axe in Rome;—in Florence the rod will suffice. The great poet then, with inimitable skill, expresses through Giuliano, the means to be adopted for the corruption and enslavement of the Florentine people,—a perfect description of Medicean policy.

"Intorpidir dei prima
Gli animi loro; il cor snervare affatto;
Ogni dritto pensier svolger con arte;
Spegner virtude (ove pur n'abbia,) o farla
Scherno alle genti; i men feroci averti
Trá famigliari; e i falsamente alteri
Avvilire, onoraudoli. Clemenza,
E patria, e gloria, e leggi, e cittadini,
Alto suonar; piú d'ogni cosa, uguale
Fingerti a tuoi minori. Eccoi gran mezzi,
Onde in ciascun si cangi a poco a poco

Prima il pensar, poi gli usi, inde le leggi ;
Il modo poscia di chi regna, e in fine,
Quel che riman solo a cangiarsi, il nome."

Of Alfieri, Corinne has said, "*Il a voulu marcher par la literature a un but politique ;*" and certainly he has not derived his knowledge of Lorenzo de Medici from the same sources as Mr. Roscoe.

On my return from Italy, I enjoyed the advantage of reading a work not easily obtained in that country ; I mean Lord Brougham's political philosophy ; and highly gratified I was to find the view I had taken of the character of Lorenzo, and of the value of Mr. Roscoe's biography of that eminent person, confirmed by the high authority of the noble and learned writer. The observations of Lord Brougham are so just and forcible, and withal so strictly true, that I present them to the reader as a fitting conclusion to the remarks offered on the conduct and real character of Lorenzo de Medici.

" Besides a rapacity, which makes the praise of generosity somewhat equivocal, if not preposterous, a disregard of human life and suffering, upon more than one occasion, appears to have been brought home to the munificent patron of arts and restorer of learning by the statement of late enquirers ; while even those who maintain that no charge of treachery or assassination can be substantiated against him, admit his usurpation, his despotism, and his extravagance at the expense of the country. When we see the most amiable men, fast friends of liberty, champions of popular rights,* dazzled by comparatively trivial accomplishments and services, exalt such a character as a benefactor of mankind without duly reprobating its darker shades, we are unavoidably led to blame the writer as well as the hero. Historians

* Mr. Roscoe.

do not reflect when they palliate the misdeeds of men whose merits in some particulars they may record, that their very virtues suffer by the association with crimes; and he who permits literary excellence, or the encouragement of artists, to abate his dislike of perfidy and cruelty, forgets that letters and the arts do contract a stain by being found to ally themselves with the baser propensities of our nature, instead of keeping us above such contamination."

CHAPTER XIII.

Behaviour of the Medici.—Character of Piero.—Election of Borgia to the Papacy. — Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. — Appearance on the political Stage of the younger Branch of the House of Medici.—Piero's expulsion from Florence.—State of Parties in the Republic. — The Medici exhibit Patriotism. — Their alliance with Borgia.—Restoration of the Republic by Savonarola.—Burnt alive in Florence.—His Character.—Effects of his Preaching traced in the Doctrines of the Reformation.—Contarini and Pole.—The Conference at Ratisbon.—Death of the Pope.—Election of Julius II.—Fate of Piero de Medici.—The new Pope patronises Cardinal de Medici — who returns from his Travels — shines at the Papal Court — then fights the Battle of Ravenna—is taken Prisoner, and piously absolves his Enemies.

Several prodigies took place on the death of Lorenzo, the narrative of which would do honour to the pages of Livy. The Cardinal de Medici hastened to Florence to support the authority of his family, having obtained the dignity of legate to the republic. He looked very grave, and patronized learned men. Innocent VIII. died soon after Lorenzo, and Roderigo Borgia was elected Pope (not surely to succeed St. Peter), under the title of Alexander VI. All the cardinals who had voted against him immediately ran away, and they acted wisely. Piero de Medici quickly shewed the genius of the family: he was arrogant and presuming, and governed absolutely, without tact or disguise; he but followed what he had been

taught, but was defective in craft, although vain and ambitious.

About this time Charles VIII. of France resolved to invade Italy, in order to recover the crown of Naples, which he claimed by a pretended title. Piero de Medici intrigued with Naples, against the French; but the Florentines rather liked them; and many eminent citizens favoured the French invasion, in the hope of getting rid of the Medici. At this crisis, two grandsons of Lorenzo de Medici the elder (brother of old Cosmo) appeared on the stage of political life; their names were Lorenzo and Giovanni. They affected patriotism, wished the restoration of the republic; said they loved liberty, and hated Piero. In reality, these young patriots thirsted for power. Piero suspected, seized, and wished to decapitate them. This they disrelished, and, by the intervention of friends, were enabled to escape to Charles, and were chiefly instrumental in inducing the invasion of Italy by that monarch.

Verily Italy owes the family of the Medici a great debt. Piero shewed himself as incapable as he was presumptuous. Frightened at the approach of the French, he imitated his father's conduct on a different occasion towards Naples, but with different success, and suddenly visited Charles in his camp. With mean cowardice, he gave up to the French Pietra Santa, Pisa, Leghorn, and then returned to Florence to announce what he had done, where he arrived 8th November, 1494. But the brave citizens would not suffer him to enter the palace. Piero turned for help to his brother-in-law, Orsini, a Roman, whom he had, with a troop of cavalry, in his pay; and the brothers, the Medici, with this troop, capered through the streets

crying out, "Palle! Palle!" which is the war-cry of the family.

Savonarola meanwhile preached liberty; the monk prevailed, and the tyrants fled. The gorgeous palaces of the Medici were sacked by the infuriated populace. Then returned the two grandsons of Lorenzo the elder; and, as the name of the Medici was deservedly hated, these young patriots dropped it without ceremony, and chose that of Popolani, to conciliate the people. The Florentines concluded an honourable peace with Charles VIII. He at first made enormous demands; but when Piero Capponi, a good citizen of the brave old times, tore the paper, exclaiming, "If these be your terms, you may sound your trumpets, and we shall ring our bells," the business was quickly settled. The King of France then assumed a pompous title, "Restorer and Protector of the liberties of Florence," and swore to abide by his bargain made with the Republic. Kings do not always remember their obligations. Shortly after the faithless sovereign of France received Piero de Medici into his camp and favour.

On the return of Charles from Naples, forgetful of his oath, he advanced towards Florence with Piero de Medici. Whereupon the Florentines prepared at once for battle, dreading, more than the worst evils of war, the restoration of the hated rule of their oppressors. Charles was forced to change the order of his march, and Piero was disappointed.

There were now three different parties in Florence. One directed by Savonarola, for church reform and democracy; they were called the *Piagnoni*. The second a dissipated aristocracy, called the *Arabbiati*. The third the friends of the Medici, called *Bigi*. A balia was

named, 2nd December, 1494, wherein all parties were balanced, but Savonarola soon persuaded the people that balias were mischievous, and so they abolished these crafty inventions, and appointed a council, composed of all whose fathers or grandfathers had sat in the magistracy—1800 good men and true sat in this great council, who elected magistrates and passed many wise laws—and amongst others a general amnesty to bury in oblivion all the disputes of the republic.

"The friar Savonarola (saith the historian, not Mr. Roscoe) evinced an ardent love of mankind, deep respect for the rights of all, great sensibility, and an elevated mind."

He was, moreover, the precursor of Luther, but a wild spirit of enthusiasm possessed and misled him. The Medici still tried every art to corrupt the friends of liberty within the city, and to assail it from without. They raised an army, invaded their native country; but the vigilance of the republican magistrates detected their schemes and baffled their arms, and again the brothers fled. Ambition, revenge, and lust of power, are not easily extinguished; the Medici made a second attempt of a more formidable character, corrupted some of the magistrates, and hired soldiers to invade their country. A heavy fall of rain retarded their march, and the Florentines escaped this peril.

The restless and indefatigable Medici made a fourth attack on Florence, but were again triumphantly defeated: the determined animosity of the republic to this hated family was now sufficiently proved. So the Cardinal gave up fighting, and went to travel; but never did the pious brothers cease from plotting against the liberties of their native country. When Cæsar Borgia, the personification of iniquity, invaded Ro-

magna at the head of a formidable army, and then marched against Bologna, Piero de Medici, true to his principles, joined the most infamous character of the age, and besought him to attack Florence. Borgia did so and proposed to the unfortunate republicans insulting conditions of peace, amongst the rest the restoration of Piero to his honours and authority, which they manfully spurned — such their hate of his execrated name. The Pope, however, seasonably withdrew his profligate relative from the Florentine territory, in order to establish his power more perfectly elsewhere. Not long after, the hopes of the Medici revived; for Cæsar Borgia, at the head of a large army, aided by their friends and money, again invaded the Florentine territory. The republicans in their perplexity were saved by the wisdom of a citizen, Pietro Soderini. As councillor, statesman, and ambassador, he was alike distinguished. Prompt succour obtained through his means from France, in the reign of Louis XII., preserved Florence.

The termination of Savonarola's power and of his life now approached—a more extraordinary narrative is not to be found in the compass of history. Had this Dominican monk contented himself with preaching liberty in Florence, he might have escaped—but when he dared to denounce the corruptions of the church, although he did not openly question her doctrines—the thunders of the Vatican were directed against him. Alexander VI. (Borgia) would suffer no man to doubt the purity of the church over which he so worthily presided—and accordingly silenced Savonarola. The monk at first obeyed, but subsequently asserting, not unlike Luther, he had a revelation from God, warning him not to submit to the corrupt tribunal of Rome, he ascended the pulpit of

St. Mark's Church, 1487, and denounced the Pope as immoral and profligate, and the church as corrupt.

The mode now adopted to ruin Savonarola, illustrates the policy of the Church of Rome as then practised. He was a Dominican of the convent of San Marco, and as there existed a jealousy between that order and the Franciscans, Francis of Apulia, a friar of that body, and zealous partizan of Rome, was despatched to preach against Savonarola from the pulpit of Santa Croce. Thus was the monk of Augustine assailed by the disciple of Francis. What ensued is differently narrated by Mr. Roscoe and Sismondi—the former asserts that an enthusiastic adherent of Savonarola, whom he names Fra Dominico of Pescia, challenged any of his master's adversaries to walk through the flames—as an ingenious mode of testing the truth of their respective doctrines —which singular challenge a Franciscan friar, nothing daunted, unhesitatingly accepted. This statement ascribes the preposterous proposal to submit a theological dispute to a fiery ordeal—to the party of Savonarola, and stamps him with the character of a mad fanatic. Sismondi, on the other hand, whose narrative I prefer and adopt, asserts that the Franciscan friar declared, when preaching, that he knew Savonarola pretended to support his doctrine by a miracle.

"For me, (said he) I am a sinner, I have not the presumption to perform miracles; nevertheless, let a fire be lighted, and I am ready to enter it with him: I am certain of perishing, but Christianity clearly teaches me, not to withhold my life, if in sacrificing it, I might precipitate into a hell a heresiarch, who has already drawn into it many souls."

This strange proposition was rejected by Savonarola, but his follower, friar Dominico Buonvicino, (called

Fra Dominico, by Mr. Roscoe,) accepted it eagerly. The Franciscan said he would only enter the flames against Savonarola. Each order, however, professed a strong desire to be burned for their faith. This honorable emulation continued for some time; the Pope applauding highly the zeal of Friar Francis. Amazing as it is to read—yet, nevertheless, true is it, the Signoria of Florence, infected by the fanatical fury of the monks, consented that the fiery experiment should be made, provided only two monks should devote themselves to the ordeal. Each party hoped and expected a miracle, and on the 17th of April, 1498, a frightful scaffold was erected in the public square of Florence—two piles of wood, mixed with ignitible materials, were heaped up eighty feet long, and five feet high, at each side was an assigned space, which was to serve as a convenient passage for the disputants to enter—who as comfortably as they could were to pass along the whole length of the piles as the fire blazed around them. The whole population of Florence was assembled to witness this astonishing exhibition. The Dominicans arrived chanting and bearing the holy sacrament. The Franciscans very properly declared they would not suffer the host to be carried into the flames: it might cause scandal. Moreover, it was unfair, they argued, that one party should possess the divine safe-guard to the prejudice of their opponents. The Dominicans were stiff in their determination not to separate themselves from their God at the moment when they implored his aid. They debated this matter several hours with much earnestness; my private opinion is, neither party relished the appearance of the faggots, or the inviting promenade between the blazing piles.

While this discussion continued, the crowds grew

hungry, and suddenly a deluge of such rain as only falls in Italy saturated the piles, and drenched the spectators. This providential circumstance made it impossible to light the fires; at which the monks were no doubt heartily rejoiced, having escaped the pleasure of being roasted alive. The populace in separating declared they had been very badly used in the transaction. Savonarola was blamed for having spoiled the entertainment, and quickly lost his credit with the multitude, who now branded him as an impostor. The aristocratic faction immediately availed themselves of the turn in popular favour, attacked the convent of San Marco, and dragged the unfortunate Savonarola, with his friends Buonvicino and Maraffi to prison. The wicked pope now had his revenge; he despatched emissaries from Rome, not to try Savonarola and his companions, but to torture and condemn them. Heresy and schism were the accusations; also that Savonarola had falsely assumed the possession of miraculous powers. The monk was allowed to speak and confounded the judges by the vigour of his eloquence; whereupon the tyrants instantly applied the torture, extorted a confession disclaiming supernatural powers, in virtue of which, although retracted, the logical churchmen pronounced the sentence of condemnation to death. Savonarola resumed his courage, and when the wicked judge exclaimed "I separate thee from the church militant," he replied firmly, "But thou canst not separate me from the church triumphant!" He, with his unhappy companions, was then dragged to the same piazza, where some weeks before he was to have triumphed, and, as some say, was first strangled with his two friends, and then cast into the flames; but, according to Sismondi, the three monks were burnt alive in the square of the city

Savonarola had reformed and liberated. This took place about six years after the death of Lorenzo the magnificent. The ashes of the dead were flung into the Arno. The character of Savonarola is not that of a wild fanatic, as represented by Mr. Roscoe; undoubtedly he was a heated enthusiast, but his enthusiasm was free from any admixture of cruelty, avarice, baseness, or lust of power. He struggled to restore liberty to Florence, and to purify the Church of Rome of its corruptions; and there can be little doubt he prepared the way for the glorious work of Luther; both were monks and belonged to the same order of Dominicans. It is a mistake to suppose that the effects of the preaching of Savonarola died away; great truths once boldly enunciated take root in the human mind, and ultimately against every discouragement bring forth fruit and flourish. Soon after this catastrophe in Florence, the patriots of that country forced to fly, the literati of Rome driven out by persecution, Reginald Pole and other fugitives escaping from Henry VIII. of England, singularly met in Venice, which republic, escaping the universal ruin, became to the persecuted of every nation "as the city of refuge." Ranke, in his profound work, informs us;

"Among the Florentines particularly, as we learn from the testimony of Nardi the historian, and of Bruccioli the translator of the Bible, there arose a very strong spirit of devotion in which the influence of the doctrines of Savonarola was still perceptible."

And amongst the persons who composed this interesting society in Venice and Padua, were several who subsequently became cardinals, and especially the celebrated Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole said:

"He was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover by its own research, or that divine grace had revealed, and that he crowned his knowledge with virtue."

It is most interesting just now to inquire what so curious a society thought on the same subjects which occupied their attention,—justification by faith. Contarini wrote a treatise of which Pole said, "*You have brought to light the jewel which the church kept half concealed.*" It ought to strengthen the faith of Protestants to read that a true catholic, the same *Contarini*, thus wrote of the great doctrine they profess.

"The gospel is no other than the blessed tidings, that the only begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the Eternal Father. He who believes this, enters into the Kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience."

Ranke truly observes, it was hardly possible to use language of more orthodox Lutheranism. This belief spread over a great part of Italy; it was subsequently stifled by persecution. Let it be remembered also, and it tells with force against the Oxford apostates of our time, that the excellent Contarini, after he was created cardinal, wrote essays denouncing the abuses of the church of Rome; declared the law of Christ should govern the conduct of the pope, and attempted to found a papacy guided by pure reason. These writings were laid before the Pope, Paul III., and not disapproved of by him. This Contarini subsequently, at the remarkable conference of Ratisbon in 1541, acted as legate of the pope in the endeavour, made to effect a reconciliation with the reformers instigated by Luther.

It is an extraordinary fact, that this assembly agreed in four important articles; "Of the nature of man, Original sin, Redemption, and even Justification." Contarini admitted the cardinal point of the Lutheran doctrine; *that the justification of man was accomplished by faith alone, without merit; he only added that this faith must be living and active.* Melanchthon declared that *this was, in fact, the Protestant faith itself.* Pole wrote to Contarini in delight—"such as no harmony of sounds could have inspired him with," respecting the enunciation of the true doctrine of justification, on which he said all the rest was grounded. Another catholic Venetian, Marino Giustano, had proposed these great concessions; reform of abuses, sale of masses, plurality of livings, and the like; that fastings should not be so much insisted on; that the pope should no longer claim to be considered Christ's vicegerent in temporal as well as spiritual things; that the communion in the cup should be given to the laity, and marriage of the priests allowed.

Carnal envy broke up this conference at Ratisbon. Contarini returned to Rome, having effected nothing.

"He was too high-minded not to feel all the bitterness of a failure in such grand and comprehensive projects. Noble and liberal was the position which the moderate catholic faith had assumed in his person."

Great consequences ensued. The reformation advanced with rapid strides; its early growth, if not ultimate triumph, must be in a measure ascribed to the eloquent preachings of the martyr Savonarola.

Conspiracies and civil wars now began to desolate Italy, in which his holiness and worthy family took an active part. At last, the world was relieved by the

death of Pope Alexander VI. in 1505. His son, Cæsar, died soon after; father and son being accused of having perpetrated the most horrible crimes which ever disgraced humanity. Julius II. was a warlike pope, having succeeded Piccolomini, who, under the title of Pius III., held the papacy twenty-six days, and died suddenly, — a mode of death then not unusual. Julius thought he best proved himself a successor of St. Peter by seizing whatever exposed territories of his neighbours he could clutch. The French now contended with the Spaniards for the kingdom of Naples, or disputed about their share of the spoil. Piero entered into the service of the French, and, in December 1503, on the banks of the Garigliano, either in escaping, or attempting to convey artillery to Gaeta, the boat sunk, and he perished in the stream. Such was the wretched, but deserved fate of Piero de Medici, called the Unfortunate. He had been ten years expelled from Florence, and never had ceased to assail it, either by treachery or violence. He left a son, called Lorenzo, a clever widow, and a daughter, named Clarice. The citizens of Florence were just men; they allowed the widow to return to Florence, and claim her property. Whereupon she, with a mother's tact, married her daughter to Filippo Strozzi, a Florentine of wealth, and noble principles. The young Lorenzo was very properly declared a rebel to the state. He was a Medici, that was enough for Florence. Cardinal de Medici meanwhile returned from his travels, settled in Rome, became a favourite with Julius II., patronised the fine arts, hunted with great spirit, and plotted against the liberties of his country. An excellent training for a future Pope!

Julius II. was a grasping soldier, so he seized Perugia,

and made Cardinal de Medici its governor, and very prudently, for few understood so well the art of extinguishing freedom. This spirited successor of St. Peter imprisoned or excommunicated every one who opposed him, inasmuch that a section of the church (as cardinals and priests call themselves) backed by the Republic of Florence, then, as often, opposed to the papacy, determined to hold a council in Pisa, and summoned the Pope to appear at it in 1511, and to answer for his misdeeds; but this project did not succeed, and Julius resolved to punish the Florentines, in an exemplary manner, for having granted Pisa to the refractory cardinals as a place of meeting, and could not think of any more effectual way than that of restoring the Medici to Florence, which he determined to do accordingly. The Pope, meanwhile, in consequence of the superior piety of the Cardinal de Medici, appointed him legate of Bologna, superintendent of the papal army, and director of the operations of the war against the French King Louis XII. This was in exact conformity with the Gospel—in fact, both pope and cardinal were themselves apostles in spirit, though not in practice, which was not required in those days. However, astonishing to relate, the arm of the flesh prevailed against the cardinal. His army and allies lost the great battle of Ravenna which the French won, and the cardinal was taken prisoner. The field of carnage was a suitable theatre, whereon the future Pope might display his piety and genius. De Medici employed himself, when a prisoner at Milan, in absolving the soldiers for having fought against the Pope, their spiritual head; by which process these men of war were comforted, and the cardinal grew popular.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTINUATION OF FLORENTINE HISTORY.

The Cardinal cleverly escapes.—Soderini, the Gonfaloniere, his just Administration. — Pope Julius restores the Medici, and dies.—How the Cardinal governs Florence. — Is elected Pope. —Aggrandizes his Family.—Catherine of famous memory.— Death of young Lorenzo.—Mr. Roscoe's Sketch of the Duke.— The bastard Son of Giuliano de Medici created Cardinal (Bishop of Worcester).—A plot to murder Leo, who avenges himself on the Sacred College.—Luther and the Papacy. — Leo's Policy, Death, and Character.— Ippolito de Medici; his claims by Birth to be a Cardinal.— The Dutch Pope — too honest for Rome—which he graphically describes, and dies.—How Cardinal Giuliano became Pope as Clement VII. — Ippolito his deputy in Florence. — Alessandro de Medici appears. — His Descent. — Character of the Age of Clement. — His Policy crooked and dangerous. —War with Charles V. — Politics of Charles assist the Reformation. — Invasion of Rome by the Imperialist Army.— Perfidy of the Emperor.—Heroic Conduct of the Florentines.—The memorable Siege.—Michael Angelo's Fortifications.—Militia of Macchiavelli.—The true Character of that zealous Republican.—Fall of Florence.—A few Reflections—Lorenzo's Policy fatal to the Republic.

The French disliking these spiritual exercises of the cardinal, and fearing their effect on the minds of the soldiers, resolved to convey his eminence a prisoner into France. The cardinal put a good face on the matter, and affected a willingness to do what he could not resist; but in crossing the river Po, by the aid of a noble Venetian, the cardinal was rescued, to the delight of

his holiness, and vexation of his enemies. When the cardinal became pope, and had Raffaelle at his court, he caused the great artist to paint the liberation of St. Peter from prison, in humble commemoration of his escape from the French; the next great event in apostolic history.

Meanwhile the Florentines appointed the honest, but not very brilliant man, Soderini Gonfaloniere for life, in order to uphold the sinking liberties of the once flourishing republic; this magistrate exercised his authority ten years, with incorruptible integrity; he revived the ancient morality of Florence, purified the tribunals of justice; preserved liberty, good order, peace, and perfect equality in the state just rescued from the tyranny of the Medici. The virtuous citizen afforded by his administration a bright contrast to the corrupt practices of an ambitious usurper. Thus is Soderini referred to by the Italian writer on the criminal justice of Tuscany.

"Bensì i giudizi sotto la influenza del Gonfaloniere Soderini risentirono della sua moralità; ed allora fù l'epoca piu felice dei giudizi Fiorentini al tempo di Repubblica, poichè l'eguaglianza civile e politica si mantenne dal capo dello stato in pienissimo vigore. La Storia Fiorentina non presenta un decennio eguale a quello del governo del Soderini rispetto all' andamento regolare degli uffici pubblici, della quiete interna, e al buon costume dei cittadini."

Soderini now refusing to embroil Florence in the war against the French, drew upon him the wrath of Pope Julius. Although the pope had made a solemn treaty with the Florentines, his holiness absolved himself, broke his compact of peace, and, being rid of the French, marched the papal army, swelled by the aid of

the Neapolitan troops, against Florence, for the express purpose of expelling Soderini, crushing liberty, and restoring the Medici. The Florentines urged the honesty of adhering to his treaty upon the pope; but his holiness insisted that such vulgar arguments applied not to him, who must needs be infallibly right.

The good cardinal corrupted every citizen and noble he could, within the walls; then from without turned the arms of the allies against betrayed Florence. Soderini was overpowered, and fled, and, by treachery and violence, the Medici in great pomp re-entered their native city. True to his nature, the cardinal filled all offices with his creatures, and governed the state as he pleased. Let the student in Italian history, who desires to have clearer conceptions on the subject than may be gathered from Mr. Roscoe's book, note well how the craft of Lorenzo, in connecting his family with Rome ruined Florence; her brave citizens had expelled the Medici, and established liberty. The power and influence of the papacy, under the control of Cardinal de Medici, restored the hated family, revolutionized the state, banished the patriots, abrogated all laws made since the expulsion of his family, and crushed liberty. Thus were the designs of Lorenzo accomplished. No man ever laboured with deeper policy to destroy the constitution of his country, than did that magnificent usurper. Lorenzo always relied on the little cardinal, as the genius of the family, observing of his three sons, as a discriminating parent well might, that "Julian was good—Peter a fool," but that "John was prudent."

By prudence here Lorenzo evidently meant deep craft; and the pious father was right in his prediction.

The causes of this last revolution in Florence, and

the consequences which ensued, insidious persecutions, secret accusations of political offences, and unjust punishments of troublesome virtuous opponents, are thus described by the legal historian I have before referred to :—

"I giovanni Fioaentini, che in viz[illegible] il lusso, e i delitti rendevano vogliosi di mutazione di governo, riescirono a disordinare la citta, e fù ristabilita l' oligarchia Medicea."

"Jubito con essa rinacquero i processi insidiosi, le accuse segrete dei delitti di stato per disfarsi o con morti o con esilji di chuinque o per opinioni o per virtù compariva molesto a quell ombroso governo."

The cunning cardinal was lucky from his infancy, for no sooner had he gained Florence, than Julius conceived his eminence did not mean to govern as the Pope's deputy, but to set up as tyrant on his own account; and the bold Pontiff would no doubt have chastised the cardinal for his presumption, but that this violent successor of St. Peter had a timely death, July 21, 1513.

Julius rebuilt St. Peter's, adorned Rome, was very properly at the head of the church militant, for he shone conspicuous in war, and loved it, his bottle, and the fair sex, more than his prayers. He founded such a power as no Pope had ever attained, and wanted, as a Venetian aptly said of him, "to be lord and master of the game of the world." I recommend his history, as sketched by Ranke, to the study of the tractarians of Oxford; indeed, with their clever pens, it might be turned into a very edifying tract.

Cardinal de Medici now breathed freely, for he feared the warlike Pope; and thinking it would be a good thing to become his successor, hastened away

from Florence to join the conclave of worthy men, who were, one and all, equally entitled, and eligible to become successors of Peter, as Cardinal de Medici himself. It seems, before the election, the aspiring cardinal fell sick; and there is a scandal concerning the cause of his complaint. The young and old cardinals, as usual, had a violent quarrel which should appoint the future Pope. Whereupon, March 1513, they agreed in nominating Giovanni, although only thirty-seven years of age, thinking that, perhaps, their eminences might quickly have another choice; but his election had a surprising effect on his health. The Pope grew brisk, assumed the title of Leo X., and became nearly as celebrated in the world as his magnificent father.

I am pleased with the frankness of one of his biographers, who writes,—

"Leo regarded his elevation in no other estimation than as the means it afforded him to raise his family to permanent sovereignty."

A Medici to the heart's core—his father's son, and, moreover, a very apostle, neither honour, justice, or gratitude, formed with him any impediment to the promotion of the interests of his grasping relations.

The three daughters of Lorenzo the magnificent, produced four sons, all of whom Leo made cardinals. His brother Julian, the Pope bestowed on the aunt of Francis I. in right of whom, Julian became Duke of Nemours; and I really believe the boundless ambition of Leo would have torn the crown of Naples from the house of Arragon, and placed it on his brother's head, had not death removed Julian from this world in 1516.

This Julian was amiable and mild, and rather liked

by the Florentines, over whom he had, on his brother's elevation to the papacy, been put as ruler; not being suited for the despotic designs of his family, he was removed, and made a duke, and died, as did many of his family, at an early age, being only thirty-seven. A grand tomb, erected by Michael Angelo, and visited by every traveller, preserves his name.

Florence, unhappy city, was now a mere dependency of the Pope, and governed by Lorenzo, the son of Piero, whose miserable death we have narrated. The forms of liberty were, however, still preserved; and it is due to the memory of Leo, to say he rather wished to govern Florence by the easy arts of corruption, and by perverting the administration of justice, than by rude force. In 1513, a sheet of paper accidentally lost, on which were written twenty names only, originated a secret prosecution and a groundless conviction; under the sentence pronounced, several eminent citizens were decapitated, such as Agostino Capponi, Pietro Boscoli; and many others were condemned to prison, amongst whom were Macchiavelli. This transaction was called a conspiracy by the friends of the Medici; the tribunals of justice being corrupted enabled Leo to tyrannize safely—but the contrast between the equitable administration of Soderini and the injustice of the Medici, filled the minds of the sincere republicans with indignation.*

* Cosi gli — Spettabili Signori Otto di Guardia e di Balia — ripresero autorita sopra il sangue, i beni, l'onore, e la pace dei cittadini. Allora le ricordanze del governo moderato e liberale del Soderini sollevarono gli animi dei piu, e le violenze del Cardinal Giovanni poi Leone X., di Giuliano Duca di Nemour, di Lorenzo Duca di Urbino, e dal Cardinal Giulio poi Clemente VII. li incrudelirono invece di domarli."

But Leo, in truth, loved his ease, relished the classics, and wished to live like a fine gentleman. The young Lorenzo, however, despised the vulgar title of *Gonfaloniere*, which tradesmen only valued, and he required the Pope to make him a duke as well as his uncle Julian. "That I will," said the Pope; and looking about for spoil, he fell with all the fury of ingratitude on Urbino, whose duke had given him refuge in his distress and exile. What cared Leo for that? The duke, to be sure, in a passion, had stabbed the Cardinal of Pavia, but his real crime was the possession of a beautiful principality.

The greedy pontiff thundered his denunciations against the duke, then marched his soldiers and attacked him, with the solid arm of the flesh. The duke defended himself bravely, and Lorenzo, very deservedly, was wounded, but Leo prevailed, confiscated the territory of Urbino, and created his aspiring nephew, Lorenzo, its duke.

I think it would be somewhat difficult to justify this daring act of priestly rapacity, by anything to be read in holy writ; but what presumptuous mortal should scan the conduct of a Pope?

His holiness next wedded the young usurping duke to Magdaleine de Boulogne, of the royal family of France; a happy marriage; from it sprung a precious child, Catherine de Medicis, who, as the Protestant world may remember, became in due season wife of Henry II. of France. She, I believe, built the Tuileries, and varnished her crimes by encouragement of the fine arts. The terrible events of St. Bartholomew's Day, have given her a name in history which will never, and, indeed, ought never to be forgotten.

Lorenzo was deceitful, revengeful, and dissolute;

having refused to fight the Duke of Urbino in a duel, he was near being assassinated by the duke's partisans; and afterwards, in May 1519, died of a miserable disease then scourging Europe.

Michael Angelo, as the traveller remembers, perverted his genius to the workmanship of a splendid monument in Florence, to this worthless profligate, which adorns the church named San Lorenzo, attached to which is the gorgeous chapel, meant for the mausoleum of this ambitious family. The Medici were vain "of boastful tombs," as of glitter and show in life; they were fearful of being forgotten.

Mr. Roscoe, working himself up into some excellent indignation, thus writes of this Lorenzo, in relation to his tomb by Michael Angelo, and the supposed panegyric of the poet.

"Ariosto has also celebrated his memory in some of his most beautiful verses. Like the Egyptians who embalm a putrid carcase with the richest odours, the artist and the poet too often lavish their divine incense on the most undeserving of mankind."

An excellent reflection, which I heartily approve, and can only regret it was not made sooner, and acted on by the same eloquent writer, when he so smoothly glossed over the political crimes of the magnificent Lorenzo.

The affectionate Pope wept over the grave of his nephew the duke.

Leo X. loved the illegitimate children of the Medici with an equal tenderness; the blot on their birth was not their fault, but their misfortune; and so he made a cardinal of that Giulio, the natural son of the unfortunate Giuliano, who was stabbed in the Pazzi con-

spiracy; and this, notwithstanding the law of the church, which forbade the nomination of any person to the rank of cardinal born out of matrimony; but legitimate or illegitimate, it was the same to Leo, and so he thrust the clever youth, who had been a soldier, into the church, and made him, moreover, governor of Florence. The list of this prelate's preferments, proves there was no very accurate law against pluralities in the Church of Rome in those days; Giulio was archbishop of Florence, Chancellor of the Roman Church, a pensionary of Charles and of Francis, and held, moreover, at the same time, a bishopric in most of the kingdoms of Europe; in England he was Bishop of Worcester.

This fat pluralist governed almost absolutely the fair city of Florence, under the Pope, who carried rigidly into practice the maxims of patriotism instilled into him by Lorenzo of famous memory.

The Pope himself had, however, his little troubles, for, while he enjoyed a life of elegant pleasures, intoxicated by the adulation of poets, artists, scholars, and priests, a plot to murder his holiness by poison concealed in physic, was hatched by certain pious cardinals. A considerable number conspired, and amongst them some on whom Leo had lavished preferments and favoured with his friendship. Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci vowed, if poison did not succeed, he would assassinate the Pope with his own hand. Leo feared to enter the conclave amongst them; yet these cardinals professed to believe in God, and claimed to be rulers of the whole Christian church! What a lesson and example to the Christian world! The murderers ultimately preferred stealthy poison, but the good fortune of Leo prevailed; the conspiracy was discovered, and Cardinal Petrucci hanged, or privately strangled

— an unceremonious proceeding certainly, but highly necessary and expedient; indeed, had Leo made a few more vacancies in the sacred college by the same process, he could not have been censured. Several other cardinals were severely punished, and some deprived of all their honours and preferments. That Leo should have been desirous to punish the chief criminal is natural, but, to seize him, the Pope signally broke faith; for Petrucci had fled, and, in order to entice him to Rome, Leo granted him a safe conduct, and undertook to the Spanish ambassador to keep his word. He deliberately broke his royal promise, and justified himself by very special pleading.* Leo soon after boldly reformed the college, by creating thirty cardinals in one day.

A very profound dissimulation, crime, extravagance, dissipation, with a passion for classical scholarship and the fine arts, then flourished, it is deeply to be regretted, in the Eternal City. And, moreover, the historian informs us, that under Leo X. the tone of good society had become sceptical and antichristian.

No wonder that Luther, although an humble man, shook the papacy. The terrible reformer could neither be frightened nor conciliated.

The extravagance of Leo was so great, and such the splendour of his court, that his revenue could not sustain his expenses, so he extended the sale of indulgences, and assigned particular provinces to his favoured relations, to superintend the sale of the valuable commodity, and repay themselves for the money they had advanced to the Pope: Saxony, for example, to his sister, Maddelene. The price was extravagant; the

* Mr. Roscoe's narrative of this appalling transaction is graphic and instructive. See vol. ii. Leo X.

people murmured; and Luther thundered against the Vatican — and the charm which so long had bound the minds of men was dispelled.

"What St. Paul was to the first century, Luther, if with a less conspicuous commission, yet with a scarcely less important effect, was to the sixteenth," is the observation of Dr. Croly, in his brilliant sketch of the great reformer. The mighty event of the Reformation marks the reign of this celebrated Pope.

In diplomacy, Leo's principle was, that the having concluded a treaty with one party, did not preclude him still negotiating with the other. This was crafty, and not very moral; but so this pious Pope managed the patrimony of St. Peter, and played off Francis against Charles: to the former he vowed friendship, met him at Bologna, agreed to a concordat, whereby the French Kings secured the rights of appointing the bishops and filling benefices. All the while Leo hated the French cordially, and in 1521 concluded, at Worms, a treaty with Charles V. for their expulsion from Italy. Accordingly, Giulio de Medici, the cardinal, took the field with Charles, and Milan was conquered—which the ambitious Pope desired to clutch for some of his hopeful family.

He had now gratified the dearest wishes of his heart, patronized Raffaelle, pampered all his relations with preferment, expelled the French from Italy, and exulted in the triumph of his policy; but his day was over. Graphically does the learned historian of the Popes describe the last scene of Leo's life, enacted on the 24th of Nov. 1521 (one year after Raffaelle's death).

"Strange, deceitful lot of man! Leo was at his villa, Malliana, when the news of the entry of his troops into

Milan was brought to him. He gave himself up to the feeling which is wont to accompany the successful termination of an enterprise, and contemplated with pleasure the festivities with which his people were preparing to celebrate his triumph. Up to a late hour in the night he went backwards and forwards from the window to the blazing hearth; it was in November. Somewhat exhausted, but full of joy and exultation, he returned to Rome. The rejoicings for the victory were just ended, when he was attacked by a mortal disease. 'Pray for me,' said he to his attendants; 'I still make you all happy.' He loved life, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive the viaticum, nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so early, so full of high hope, 'He died as the poppy fadeth.' The Roman people could not forgive him for dying without the sacraments, for spending so much money, and for leaving debts. They accompanied his body to the grave with words of reproach and indignity. 'You glided in like a fox,' said they; 'you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog.'"

Florence gained nothing by Leo's death, but on the contrary, fell into a lower depth of degradation; it is necessary to be again specific in recording the moral virtues of this illustrious family.

I have spoken of Giuliano, Duke of Nemours, brother of Leo X., who married one of the House of Bourbon. By that lady he left no issue, but, as customary with the Medici, he had an illegitimate son named Ippolito, and of course this gentleman, who shewed a lively wit, and became an excellent classic, was made in due season a cardinal; Clement VII. heaped preferments on him, he revelled in luxury at Bologna, and translated some of the Eneid into Italian, and upon the whole, cut a splendid figure in those days: thus he lived; how he died I shall presently mention.

An honest Dutchman, named Hadrian Florassen, had, through the influence of Charles V. been elevated to the Popedom ;—

"It was long since the election had fallen on a man more worthy of his high and holy office; Adriane, (as Ranke spells it) was of a most spotless fame, upright, pious, industrious, of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, fine intentions, a true minister of religion." He was a model of virtue, and "disapproved the almost pagan tastes and pursuits then in fashion at Rome."

Excellent priest! he desired to anticipate the demands of the German reformers, and root out the abuses of the church.

"We," wrote Adrian to the Nuntio, "we know that for a long time many abominations have existed near the holy see, abuses of spiritual things, excess in the exercise of authority; every thing has been turned to evil; from the head the corruption has spread into the members, from the Pope to the prelates, we have all gone astray, there is none of us that hath done well, no not one."

This unfortunate Pope, so full of true piety, was opposed in everything, and literally worried to death after a brief reign of nine months. May it not prove ominous of the fate of the great papal reformer of the nineteenth century?

In one of the lives I have read of Clement VII., successor to honest Adrian, the mode in which he prevailed is thus given :—

"His perseverance and bribery overcame the various difficulties that arose, as it was contrary to a fixed law to give the triple tiara to one that was born out of wedlock, he pro-

cured a person to swear that his father privately married the lady to whom he owed his birth."

"Credat Judæus Apolla ! !"

Clement was elected Nov. 18th, 1523, he dealt with Florence as his own peculiar patrimony, and meant to rule it as a nice little appendage to the papacy. But as Clement could not sit in Florence and in the chair of St. Peter at the same time, he was obliged to use the services of other men; and, as with a fellow feeling he selected that Ippolito, of whom I have written as one of his beloved relations, to act for him; so did he choose for another one, Alessandro, also illegitimate, whose creditable genealogy I must detail.

It is a matter of nicety to decide who was his father, and difficult to ascertain whence came his virtuous mother; nay, her very colour is questionable, some saying she was black, others white, some that her complexion was olive; in fact, that she was an African slave. There is no accounting for taste; yet it does seem strange that a Florentine should select, even as the object of his irregular passion, a negress, while surrounded by the beautiful maidens of Italy. The Medici were, however, rather a peculiar family, cloyed with domestic sweets, and relishing novelty. It must, however, be fully understood that it was the face of the child which told the tale as to its mother, because, unlike the Medici, Alessandro had thick lips, short curly hair, and almost an African complexion. This lady must, therefore, have been one of the descendants of *Ham*.

The honour of being Alessandro's father is divided between two highly distinguished persons; which is entitled to the distinction is a moot point.

The Duke of Urbino has been mentioned; that Lorenzo, son of Piero, who was married by Leo X. to one of the House of Bourbon, from whose marriage sprung Catherine de Medicis, is supposed by some to have been the father of Alessandro; but, I blush to write, the better opinion seems to be, that no less a person than Clement VII. was the author of his existence,—certainly, if true, no small scandal to so grave a pontiff. However, this much is certain, that Clement exceedingly loved the youth, and wished to make him a very great man.

The reprobate cardinal and the African Alessandro were now the deputies employed by Clement in the government of Florence. The brave citizens abhorred their rulers, thirsted for freedom, and watched their opportunity to strike another blow at the detested House of Medici.

Clement, by the mazes of his artificial policy, afforded that opportunity to the oppressed republicans of Florence.

The histories of that eventful period to which Charles and Francis, the eighth Harry and Clement belonged, in which Wolsey and Luther, Melanchthon and Macchiavelli, with a host of subtle diplomatists, famous captains, and accomplished wits moved, must needs be profoundly interesting.

Plots, counterplots, schemes, violence, falsehood, vile ambition, rapacity, wickedness almost incredible perpetrated in the name of God, infamous perfidy, crafty dissimulation, were all in turn resorted to by unscrupulous tyrants, and sometimes, alas! as in the case of Florence, successfully; and, again, each and all were powerless to stop the march of religious truth, or extinguish the blessed hope of freedom.

The jealousies of the great despots helped the cause

of the early reformers, but they were more helped by a rooted conviction of the truth of their belief, which, when deeply felt, nothing can overcome.

My immediate business is with the noble family of the Medici, and the once free and happy Florence.

Clement VII. was far from being the worst of Popes: on the contrary, an Italian writer asserts, that for one hundred years there had not been so good a Pope (I presume excepting Adrian); for he was not proud, nor simoniacal, nor avaricious, nor libidinous, an implied compliment to his sainted predecessors. Moreover, Clement, while cardinal, had shewn himself very artful, and with a taste for letters and science. But a wise saying expresses that it is the storm which proves the skill of the pilot, and his holiness soon found himself involved in a tempest: the fatal talent for diplomacy was his ruin; nobody could trust or believe him. Now he intrigued with Francis, again with Charles, or with Henry: he had the genius of his great contemporary, Macchiavelli, for crafty statesmanship, which suited well with Italian crookedness, but when the great sovereigns found out his schemes, they punished his duplicity severely.

The Spaniards had done much for Clement both as cardinal and pope: they obliged Leo X. by driving the French from Milan, but then kept the good city for themselves, and in many ways proved equally obliging. Leo, on the other hand, allowed Charles V. to be King of Naples and Emperor at the same time, but all good Italians were vexed to see these rude people established in Lombardy. The Spaniards were courageous but ignorant, had little taste for fine arts, no learning, and exhibited towards the people whom they oppressed a degree of insolence quite intolerable.

This unmanly behaviour was distasteful to the Italians, who pride themselves on their politeness and accomplishments, and they went the length of stigmatising the followers of Charles as barbarian strangers, and plotted to expel them from fair Italy. Their idea was excellent, had they only had the power and resolution to execute it; but the German soldiers, although they could not paint, could fight. Clement began by diplomacy, and tried to seduce the general of Charles, a tough old Spaniard, "bearded as a pard, and ready to seek the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth." This was a mistake: the Spaniard was the soul of honour, despised the Italians, and rejected their bribes, although a crown was offered. Moreover, he disclosed the treacherous proposal to Charles: the Italians, on the other hand, said that Pescena was a very ungrateful fellow.

On the scheme being discovered, war with the great Emperor became inevitable; and Clement got aid from all quarters, and thought he had allies in France and England. His minister observed, I think, very unfortunately, "Posterity will envy us the times in which we lived, and our share in so great felicity;" and with such fine notions Clement commenced his grand project of expelling the barbarians from Italy. This was in the bright summer of 1526. But the Imperialists shewed themselves almost a match for Clement in cunning when he allied himself with France, Switzerland, England, Venice. They thought it highly convenient to encourage the bold reformers of the church in Germany; for it would have been too much to expect from the most Catholic sovereign, to uphold the papal power at one side of the Alps, while vehemently attacked by the Pope at the other.

Thus it came to pass that a decree of the Empire was passed at the Diet of Spires, just as Clement took to fighting, whereby each of the German States were left at liberty to guide themselves in matters of religion, and these States would acknowledge no rule of faith but the Holy Scriptures. This was the beginning, as the best of the historians says, of the real Reformation. Clement was not prepared for this blow. The Lutherans were excited against him and in behalf of the Emperor; and in November, 1526, one Frundsberg, or, as Robertson spells it, Fronsperg, a terrible fellow, crossed the Alps with an army of fierce Landsknechts, Lutherans all, to punish his holiness. These soldiers were inflamed with hatred against Rome; they considered it the seat of iniquity, the source of all their persecutions as Lutherans; and their leader, with astonishing insolence, declared, "If I get to Rome, I will hang the Pope," and, for my part, I verily believe he would have kept his word.

This army of hungry Germans, increased by some bodies of believing Spaniards and Italians, encountered every difficulty; want of money, of clothing, of provisions; these privations only whetted their appetites for the delicacies of Rome. There was with them a general named Bourbon, a famous captain, who had run away from France, and enlisted under the Emperor Charles, expecting from him the investiture of Milan. So with Bourbon and Frundsberg these hardy Germans were well provided, in the way of generals at least. A vigorous description of the march of this army to Rome, will be found in the second volume of Robertson's History of Charles V.

"With anxious glance (saith Ranke, with accustomed vigour) we see the tempest gathering in the horizon, and

gradually overspreading the whole heavens. Rome teeming with crime, yet not less fertile in generous studies, in talent, and in knowledge, adorned with works of art, such as the world has never again produced, a treasure ennobled by the stamp of genius, and exercising a vital and enduring influence on the world; Rome is threatened with ruin."

The Tuscan passes were left undefended, and troops disbanded even by the Papal government, which trusted to silly negotiations instead of arms; the unfortunate Pope now suffered from the effects of his crooked policy; he vacillated, hesitated, was duped, deserted by his allies, and undone. On the 5th of May, 1527, Bourbon encamped within sight of Rome, pointing out to his soldiers the churches and palaces of the city, into which, as the capital of the Christian commonwealth, the riches of all Europe had flowed during many centuries, without having been once violated by any hostile hand.

Frundsberg had been struck by apoplexy; Bourbon was killed in the first assault, and the Eternal City stormed by his infuriated followers.

The modern traveller to Rome does not sufficiently reflect on the havoc made of its precious contents, the hoarded treasures of ages, by this army of ferocious Imperialists; we speak of the Hun, the Goth, the Vandal, but their devastations were as nothing compared with the ruin caused by the believing subjects of the first Roman Catholic sovereign in the Christian world.

We have lost greater treasures by this storming of Rome, than I should suppose by all the assaults of the barbarians put together, and for this plain reason, that the rude soldiery of Charles, after taking the city, held possession of it for nine months, and being uncontrolled by any general of authority, ceased not from violence

and rapine, brutality and insolence. The miserable Pope employed himself saying mass in St. Peter's during the assaults, and when he heard of the successes of the enemy, instead of escaping through the opposite gate, which was free of enemies, he fled into the castle of St. Angelo, where he shut himself up with a dozen cardinals and ambassadors, and where he was sorely besieged. Robertson observes,—

"It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of that scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage, unrestrained by discipline, whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons were plundered without distinction; no age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of the soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity."

The student of history may remember that Gibbon pauses in his splendid narrative to draw a parallel between the sack of Rome by Charles V. and Alaric the Goth. The passage contains such an instructive commentary on this celebrated event, reflections so just, and a description of the invaders so graphic, and withal so curious, that I do a service to the reader by recalling it to his memory.

"The experience of eleven centuries has enabled posterity to produce a singular parallel, and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles V., a catho-

lic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans. The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the Imperialists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the Constable of Bourbon had gloriously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the 16th century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sanguinary crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society, with the polished vices which spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition, to assault the palace of the Roman Pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the Italians. At the same era, the Spaniards were the terror both of the Old and New World: but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquisite and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners; many of the Castilians, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the Holy Inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico.

"The Germans were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards; and the rustic, or even savage aspect of those Tramontane warriors, often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had imbibed, in the first fervour of the Reformation, the spirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to

insult, or destroy, the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition: they indulged without pity or remorse a devout hatred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of Modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon."*

A modern Italian novelist, Massimo Azeglio, in his historical romance of "Nicolo di Lapi," written in a patriotic spirit, to commemorate the siege of Florence, has tried to rival the English historians in painting the horrors which ensued on the storming of Rome by Bourbon. This spirited writer professes to sketch the manners and habits of the last days of Republican Florence, to which his book refers; and, peradventure, may have awakened in the hearts of his readers the ancient spirit of liberty which is slumbering but not extinguished.

"The splendour of Rome (writes the German professor) fills the beginning of the 16th century, it marks an astonishing period of development of the human mind; with this day it was extinguished for ever."

* That Gibbon should sneer at the principles or practices of the early Reformers was natural; but I cannot join in Mr. Roscoe's eloquent regrets in the injurious effects of the Reformation on the fine arts. The great work of the Reformers was to assail the Church of Rome, and to establish what they believed to be fundamental truth. It was not their duty, nor of those who introduced Christianity in the days of Constantine, to preserve fine pictures or statues, but to accomplish a revolution in the human mind. And if the aid of the fine arts, so called, gave countenance to error, the Reformers were right not to tolerate the delusion. The breaking of the fetters which enchained the human mind, compensates in some small degree for the damage done, if any, to the art of painting by the Reformation.

It remains merely to add, that the massacre of the inhabitants was inconsiderable, for the simple reason assigned by an Italian author, that they offered no resistance; and even barbarians rarely kill those who yield submissively. The same writer oddly enough insists that the Pope was not blamable for the misfortune of the Romans; it was owing to their own conduct: he calls them *superbi, avari, homicidi, invidiosi, libidinosi;* and Ranke adds in the note, that such a population was incapable of maintaining itself. What a corrupt system of government that must have been, to nourish a population deserving such a character! This memorable siege of Rome is intimately connected with the history of Florence, now rapidly approaching its crisis.

The Florentines had virtue enough left to abhor the tyranny of the Medici, and courage enough to attempt and work out their liberation. Unlike the degenerate Romans, they were industrious, frugal, sober; their women were chaste and modest; and although the citizens were not experienced soldiers, yet had they a courage warmed by love of country, and zeal for freedom; they were conscious of their degradation, and smarted under the wrongs they endured. The name and race of Medici were loathed with an inexpressible hatred, yet some still persist in describing this perfidious family as benefactors of Florence. It was for a time doubtful whether Bourbon meant to attack Florence or Rome. So soon as it appeared that his object was the plunder of the Eternal City on behalf of the Emperor, the Florentines naturally believed they could scarce do anything more acceptable to Charles, than to expel the creatures of the same Clement he assailed from Florence; accordingly they arose with universal consent and a hearty good will, drove away the Cardinal deputy of

Clement, seized the government, and re-established freedom. Their detestation of the Medici, by whom they had been cajoled, corrupted, betrayed, and oppressed, exhibited itself in demolishing every vestige of the tyrants in Florence; the effigies of Leo, of Clement, were cast down, and in every place, and in every way, the enraged citizens tried to efface all monuments attesting the grandeur or power of the descendants from the crafty apothecary.

The superb palaces of the Medici were plundered, the living members of that family proscribed as traitors, and the Republic which had made Florence wealthy and great, restored. This was accomplished in a day; how brief was the triumph of freedom in the once flourishing city.

The Florentines believed they were secure of the Emperor, and were willing to battle single-handed against the Pope; they did not suppose it possible that enemies so fierce could be reconciled in order to work their ruin. The perfidy of Charles was deep, the desire of revenge in Clement was implacable, both were alike regardless of justice or the happiness of their fellow-creatures; but very true is it, that in political affairs no reasoning is more fallacious, than because an event is unlikely, to conclude it will not happen. To comprehend exactly how the fate of Florence was decided, and the way in which the policy of Lorenzo the Magnificent accomplished its object, we must revert to the narrative of events consequent on the capture of Rome by the Imperialists.

Shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, Clement expected to hold out till released by the army composed of Florentines, Venetians, and Swiss, commanded by the Duke d'Urbino, one of the family on whom the Medici

had conferred the lasting favours before narrated; it seems this army could have liberated the Pope, but the General d'Urbino hated every member of the race of Medici, and although no doubt a sound believer, preferred gratifying his revenge to the fame of rescuing a beleaguered Pope. And certainly he did avenge himself thoroughly, for having marched so close to Rome, that his army might be seen from the ramparts of St. Angelo, and elated the Pope with the prospect of deliverance, he, then, "from an exquisite refinement in revenge," immediately retired, declaring the enterprise was too hazardous. Clement having enjoyed the luxury of feasting on asses' flesh, capitulated; whereupon, by a curious coincidence, he was consigned to the keeping of Alaric, the same man who had guarded Francis I. when a prisoner of Charles.

The Emperor exulted, it seems, at this unexpected piece of fortune, but true to his nature acted the part of a profound hypocrite; he disowned the whole transaction, and feigned regret. Who can dissemble like princes? This ambitious tyrant put on mourning; was sorrowful in public, while he rejoiced in private.

"He even insulted the Deity by commanding public prayers for the Pope's speedy restoration to freedom, when all Europe knew that a single word would have procured Clement his liberty."

Notwithstanding this impiety and hypocrisy, the Pope was dragged about a close prisoner for seven months, and was menaced with transportation to Spain, that his perfidious conqueror might enjoy the gratification of having had a Pope and a King prisoners in Madrid within the space of two years. However all good Roman Catholics were inexpressibly shocked at

the behaviour of the Catholic king to Christ's vicar on earth. Henry VIII. wanted from the Pope a divorce; Francis, to lessen the emperor's power in Italy; Wolsey was bribed, and a treaty concluded between England and France to assail Charles, secure the liberties of Italy, and free the Pope; Florence favoured the league which promised liberty to Italy; the army of the Confederates marched towards Rome. Then Charles, who cared not for religion or the Pope, found it suited his interests to liberate his holiness for money before he should be set free by force; so extorting from Clement's purse 300,000 crowns, he agreed to discharge him on a given day. But Clement, of course, not believing a word spoken by Charles or his ministers, after the treaty was concluded, his guards being negligent, escaped in disguise to Ovieto, and thence by letter thanked the General of the Confederates for his freedom. Then Francis and Charles agreed to fight a duel, which was a mischievous example.

The General of the Confederates marched towards Rome; and the remains of Bourbon's veterans, corrupted, like the soldiers of Hannibal in Capua, at last quitted the city they had ruined. The Pope repeated his declaration of attachment to the Confederates, and with Medicean duplicity, accordingly as the cause of Francis declined, privately trafficked for himself with Charles. Clement had felt his power, and determined to secure his friendship; so at Barcelona, the pontiff and the emperor, who had inflicted on each other every injury and insult, agreed to be reconciled by a separate treaty, regardless of their old hatred, their enemies, or allies. But I fear a gentle, Christian spirit of forgiveness had as little to do with this transaction as it had with most of their proceedings. The spiritual and

temporal sovereigns thus charitably reasoned one with the other. Said the Pope, I will give you the investiture of Naples without tribute (not much); I will absolve the marauders you sent to plunder Rome, and I will give you leave to levy one-fourth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in your dominions. Said the Emperor, I will give you back your own dominions and re-establish the Medici in Florence; and as I have an illegitimate daughter, for whom I wish to provide, and you have a bastard relative Alessandro de Medici, I will marry my daughter to your relative, and seize and deliver up Florence as a settlement for the young couple to begin with. Nothing fairer, replied his holiness, and the thing was done.

Thus was the liberty of Florence proposed to be bartered away for the aggrandizement of a spurious offspring, and to cement the union between two perfidious sovereigns.

In the whole history of Europe there can scarce be found a narrative of infamy blacker than this. The head of the Christian world had seen the Imperialist army perpetrate every imaginable act of rapine before his eyes in Rome. He abhorred the Lutherans and the Emperor, who had imprisoned and insulted him, yet did he now agree with this sovereign to be his friend, on the terms, however, that Charles would direct this same army of ruthless marauders against his (Clement's) native city of Florence; and why?—because Florence dared to be free.

"Clement," writes Ranke, "was more affected by the desertion of his native city than even by the capture of Rome. People remarked, with surprise, that, after such grievous injuries, he renewed his alliance with the Imperialists, he did so because he saw in the assistance of the

Spaniards, *the only means of restoring his kindred and his party to Florence.* He so completely altered his policy that he even employed that very army which had devastated Rome before his eyes, and had held himself so long, beleaguered and captive; as an instrument for reducing his native city to its former subjection."

That is, he, Clement, rather than behold the spectacle of Florence happy and free, preferred to see the fair city desolate, as Rome had been; her virgins corrupted, her matrons insulted, her citizens butchered by a ruthless soldiery, her various products of industry spoliated, her liberties crushed by the stranger and the tyrant. Enough—the enormous turpitude of this Pope's conduct is almost without parallel; in practising these cruelties he was acting all the while, at least in spiritual things, as the representative on earth of him who was the Prince of peace.

The treaty of Cambray was concluded, and Florence was left without an ally; even in Italy the Emperor had granted to other cities reasonable terms and an honourable peace; he met the Pope at Bologna, accepted the crown, as emperor, from the Pope, and undertook to gratify his holiness by the destruction of unhappy Florence. How behaved her citizens at this her last struggle? With wisdom and heroic courage. When they learned the formidable combination entered into between the Pope and the Emperor for their ruin; they dispatched ambassadors to Charles, hoping to alter his resolution by appeals to reason, justice, their rights as an independent state, to past treaties: Charles was inexorable; his answer was, "Florence must submit unconditionally to the noble House of Medici." No terms, no modification would he listen to; the half negro, thick-lipped Alessandro, with the child of his concu-

bine, *must* rule despotically the republic, once the glory of Italy and envy of Europe. The Pope blessed Charles for his good faith. "Put not your trust in princes," might the dejected ambassadors exclaim, as they returned to Florence to announce its fate.

The citizens assembled in council, heard, considered, resolved; they were unanimous, their stern decision was to perish like freemen, rather than live under the Medici as slaves. Having adopted this fearful alternative, they acted with foresight, prudence, activity, and zeal in preparing for the deadly struggle. Very different were the brave citizens of busy Florence from the feeble and corrupt inhabitants of Papal Rome. The energy of freedom braced their hearts: accustomed to labour and to think, they resolved to fight resolutely. Roman Catholics were they, but really devout. Schooled by the teaching of Savonarola, they abhorred alike the corruptions of the Church, and the audacious injustice of the Pope.

Tears fill our eyes, as we read the narrative of the contest which now ensued, protracted and glorious, between the greatest emperor in Europe, and a small, but free, commonwealth. Clement and Charles were alike mistaken in supposing their wicked confederation would inspire the Florentines with terror: never during their brilliant history did they display so fine a courage. Massimo Azeglio in his historic romance to which I have referred, recounts the events which ensued from the storming of Rome to the destruction of Florence, describes the horrors of the siege, the self-devotion of the citizens, their gloomy enthusiasm, like that of the Covenanters, as depicted by Scott, their heroic courage, striving against domestic treachery, famine, and a furiously excited enemy. It is said this book offended

the existing governments of Tuscany by the severe contrast drawn between Florence as it is, and Florence as it was.

The memorable siege took place in 1530.

Bourbon, the Imperialist leader, who fell in storming Rome, was succeeded by the Prince of Orange, a famous captain; he was killed by the Florentines in one of their furious sallies, with a great number of the veterans who had conquered Italy.

"The citizens endured every evil that a besieged place is capable of; after consuming all the food that was fit for human creatures to eat, they fed upon the most unclean animals, horses, asses, dogs, cats, and vermin of all sorts."

The head of the Christian world looked on unmoved. The Florentines were fortunate in two respects. On the expulsion of the Medici they had appointed the famous Michael Angelo superintending engineer of their fortifications; he evinced great skill in fortifying the elevated post of San Miniato. It is from this spot, as the traveller knows, the best view of the fair city can, in these sluggish times, be had. Thus did the great artist compensate by these patriotic services for the prostitution of his genius, in flattering the depraved members of the House of Medici, by the works of his chisel.

The other advantage possessed by the Florentines consisted in the organisation of their militia, according to the system devised by Macchiavelli. This extraordinary man had long perceived the danger Florence incurred by employing hireling soldiers, and neglecting military tactics. He was a true patriot, loved his native city, wished to behold her free, or at least independent, and Italy rescued from the grasp of the bar-

barians. He wrote an essay on the best mode of establishing a national militia in Florence, the doctrines in which were now carried into practice with signal success. Macchiavelli was spared witnessing the final ruin of his country, having died in 1527. Not until 1827 was a monument raised to him, when an Englishman, Earl Cowper, paid this tribute to the memory of one of the most remarkable men of his age.*

* There is little doubt now as to the true character of Macchiavelli. Prefixed to the edition of his works, published in 1796, in the "Bibliotheque du Roi," there is an instructive essay on the real character of the philosopher and his writings. He lived in a country whose liberties had just been sapped by corruption, he was surrounded by wicked men, and had been himself persecuted and imprisoned. "The Prince" was dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici, Duca d'Urbino, and it was eminently calculated to expose the tyrants, and give the alarm to Italy. The following passage from the essay explains Macchiavelli's character correctly.

"Il Macchiavelli zelante republicano, ardente cittadino, grande ammiratore de quei famosi Romani che liberarano Roma da suoi tiranni poteva mai esser l'apostolo della tirannias. I discorsi politici sopra Tito Livio mostrano evidentemente la purità della intenzione del filosofo Fiorentino, qui inculca con impegno le più sane massime della politica, qui trattando della fondazione, della reforma, e del governo degli stati posse, per principi la religione, l'unione de cittadini, l'ordine nelle differenti classi, un exalta guistizia, e per massime che la virtù fa la grandezza de' Principi e degli Imperi, che un popolo savio ed unito è invincibile, che la licenza condurre alla schiavitù, che quelli e quali hanno autorità nelle mani sollecitano la loro propria rovina tanto col violare eglino stessi le leggi quanto col permettere che altri le viole. Che incompatibili sono *la liberta* e *la corruzione* de costumi, che la dolcezza, la giustizia, e la buona fede sono la politica megliore de' Principi; laddove il rigore, il capriccio, e la dissimulazione fanno tanto male a coloro che l'usano quanto o quelli contro de quali à impiegata."

"Macchiavelli, zealous republican, patriotic citizen, great

Thus protected by their fortifications, and defended by their militia, the Florentines held out against the greatest sovereign in Europe for a twelvemonth. Clement, surprised at the pertinacity of their resistance, earnestly besought a conference; the head of the Christian world proposed, with apparent moderation, that the Medici should be received as private citizens, and restored to their paternal estates; but, although reduced to the last extremity, the republicans refused to acknowledge Alessandro as their ruler. Ultimately, the conditions agreed to were—a perfect restoration of the property the Medici had lost; the republic to pay 80,000*l.* to the emperor for the expenses of his army, a general amnesty was to be granted, and the forms of the constitution were to be preserved; an honourable treaty after an obstinate resistance. Florence was not stormed, nor plundered; she opened her gates trusting

admirer of those famous Romans who liberated Rome from her tyrants, never could have been the apostle of tyranny. His political discourses on Livy shew plainly the aim and intention of the Florentine philosopher.

Here he carefully inculcates the soundest maxims of politics; here, treating of the foundation of the reform and of the government of states, he lays down, as fundamental principles, religion, the union of citizens, order amongst the different classes, and exact justice; and, as maxims, that virtue makes the greatness of princes and of empires; that a wise and united people is invincible; that licentiousness conducts to slavery; that those who have authority in their hands tempt their own ruin as much by violating it themselves, as by suffering others to violate it; that liberty and corruption of morals are incompatible; that gentleness, *justice, and good faith, are the best policy of princes; whereas cruelty, caprice, dissimulation, work as much mischief to those who use them, as to those against whom they are employed.*"

It would, I think, be difficult to find out of the Scriptures sounder doctrine for princes and people to act on.

to the faith of a Pope and a mighty prince. Mark what followed. Soon after the capitulation, these infamous potentates broke the treaty by which they had obtained possession of Florence, established Alessandro, the half negro, in supreme power, through the medium of a mock parliament put some of the bravest citizens to death, imprisoned a large number, tortured more, and banished others; their inexpiable crime having been an unconquerable love of liberty. Thus did Clement entitle himself to the character of head of the Christian church on earth, and Charles preserved his high reputation for cool perfidy. Robertson describes this transaction.

"Though the Florentines were deserted by all their allies, and left without any hope of succour, they defended themselves many months, with an obstinate valour worthy of better success; and even when they surrendered they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of securing some remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his desire to gratify the Pope, frustrated all their expectations, and abolishing their ancient form of government, raised Alexander de Medici to the same absolute dominion over that State, which his family have retained to the present times."

The latter part of this passage appears, on comparison with Sismondi, and other writers, to be inaccurate, as is also the statement in Mr. Spalding's book on Italy,—

"That Alessandro took possession of Florence under an imperial charter constituting him *its first Duke*."

It appears that Charles drew out, or prescribed a form of constitution nearly monarchical; but the State was still to be styled *the Republic of Florence*, of which Alessandro was to be chief. Many of the ancient cus-

toms were to be retained, and the supreme authority was to be administered under the control of two councils chosen for life from amongst the citizens, the one consisting of forty-nine, the other of 200 members. The title of Alessandro was not that of Grand-Duke of Florence; he had no such rank; he was a duke, but his title was derived from *Citta or Civita di Penna.**

So Florence fell, covered with glory. Nor am I aware that Rome's history contains a prouder page than that which truly tells the story of her ruin.

Stubborn virtue, rare industry, high religious feeling, fortitude, a passion for liberty, with heroic self-devotion—marked the character of the last free citizens of Florence; they were overpowered by an abominable confederacy of force with falsehood. Often have I mused over this affecting narrative, as from the heights of San Miniato I looked down upon the fair city, once the abode of flourishing industry and generous freedom. Often while I sauntered through her streets of lofty palaces, her vast churches, splendid proofs of a piety gone by, her ancient halls, where the *podesta* sat, and the *anziani* and the *priori* held their honest deliberations, have I thought over the stout citizens of ancient Florence,—their amazing industry, wide spread commerce, and tried to catch the joyful sound of their freedom,—alas, her inspiring voice is hushed. Her poets, artists, scholars, embodied their vast conceptions in forms of beauty to be our wonder and delight for ever: but their genius would not survive the glory of the Republic. Often in the soft evening of delicious spring, strolling in the beautiful suburbs I have conjured up in my imagination the twelve Anziani, worthy

* The note 349 in Roscoe's "Life of Lorenzo" will be found to clear this matter up.

magistrates, soberly walking in constitutional array to keep up their health, and spirits—unpaid rulers of a busy State, the joy and pride of the commonwealth: I have met instead the triflers, whifflers, of a frivolous age, or the seemingly spiritless subjects of a mild and virtuous despot, enervated by the power which upholds them.

There is a passage from the able article in the "Quarterly Review," before referred to, quoted by the compiler of "Murray's Hand-Book for Florence," and which is read, as it ought to be, by all travellers; the passage is eloquent, the conclusion unjust.

"Florence could boast of every worldly gift, and every human talent in which statist and politician find the sources of the power and prosperity of nations; commerce, philosophy, art, literature, courage, policy; and to all these add a still more powerful and influential safeguard, patriotism in its true sense; in the sense in which our political economists and politicians now despise it; that is to say, love of our country because it is our own; all these Florence possessed in overflowing measure. But she possessed one thing more; a government entirely founded upon the quicksand of unmixed and unbalanced popular sovereignty, and whose principles exhibited, as we are told, by the most honest and sincere of our modern historians, Sismondi, the fullest development of the purest and most exalted democracy. He calls upon us to venerate a community in which all power exercised over the people, proceeds from the people; all authority derived from the people, returns periodically to the people, and all who exercise such authority are responsible to the people for the exercise of it. Such was the government of Florence; and under this government she succumbed."

Now I conceive, with deference to this able writer, it was not under her democratic government Florence fell; on the contrary, her departure from its principles

hastened her ruin, while the prodigious energy imparted by her popular liberty created her greatness, and sustained Florence in her last awful conflict. No doubt, an unlimited democracy is not the form of government a wise man would choose or encourage. But let me suppose Florence, assailed now by such an Emperor as Charles V., rejoicing as she does, under an excellent paternal despotism, what resistance could she offer? None—the energy of her people is suppressed, the Grand-Duke must pack up his pictures, and run away. The reader will also carefully note the effect produced by the deep policy of Lorenzo called the Magnificent, whose real character and designs his biographer has either misconceived or glossed over with censurable commendation. Lorenzo connected his family with the Church of Rome, in order to increase his influence, and control Florence: the power of the Papacy in immediate contiguity with the republic was, of course, inimical to its freedom. Leo or Clement, with absolute authority in Rome, would scarce allow the checks which the free councils of Florence would impose upon it, accordingly the Medici Popes, as Lorenzo no doubt foresaw and intended, by their influence and power enslaved Florence.

Thus did Lorenzo connect the republic most closely with despotism, corrupt it by his habits of expense, and sow the seeds of its ruin, by the establishment of his permanent council.

What followed was but the consequence of his artful ambition, and it is highly interesting to trace out the working of so crafty a scheme of policy, and to comprehend clearly the character of the man. The history of Florence, as a republic, is now over; but let us hope she may, in better times, regain her freedom.

CHAPTER XV.

Clement's Exultation.—Strikes a Medal.—Intrigues now with Francis I.—Marries Catherine de Medicis to the Duke of Orleans.—A French Writer's Character of Catherine.—The Reformation advances.—Death of Clement.—Opinion of him by the Romans.—Florence under Alessandro the Negro.—Appeal to Charles.—Guiccardini the Historian defends the Tyrant.—Ippolito de Medicis.—The younger Branch of the House of Medicis, their Genealogy and History.—Lorenzino plays the Part of Brutus, and kills Alessandro, and is himself murdered.—Young Cosmo foils Strozzi and the Patriots, and plays Octavius.—Guiccardini's Conduct.—Fate of Strozzi.—Government of Cosmo.—Created First Grand-Duke of Tuscany by a persecuting Pope.—Horrible Fate of his Sons Giovanni and Garzia.—A double Murder.—Cosmo feels Remorse.—Copies the Behaviour of Charles.—Resigns his Crown, and dies.

To pursue our narrative, Clement was in high glee at all he had done, and, pretending to believe he had conferred a blessing on the Catholics of Florence (as formerly practised in Rome, when some act of unparalleled wickedness had been committed), he struck a medal, with his apostolic effigy on one side, and on the reverse was represented Joseph discovering himself to his brethren, with the Scriptural inscription, "*Ego sum Joseph, frater vester.*" To the citizens, certainly, he had been an affectionate brother.

The history of the Medici is very curious. Francis I., wishing to detach the Pope from the interest of Charles, and perceiving the vehement desire of Cle-

ment for the aggrandizement of his family, secretly proposed to the Pope to marry his second son, Henry, Duke of Orleans, to Catherine de Medicis, the daughter of that Lorenzo styled Duke of Urbino; the proposal delighted the vain Pontiff, and this marriage, to the amazement of the world, was concluded, and consummated to the Pope's satisfaction.

Thus was this upstart family connected with the proudest sovereigns in Europe. It is believed, although no written treaty exists on the subject, that an agreement was made between Clement and Francis, in opposition to the treaty of Barcelona contracted between Charles and Clement, the secret object of the Pope being, that the French should again invade Italy, and establish Catherine and her husband in the duchy of Milan, a fresh proof of the duplicity of Clement's character. The infliction of a Catherine de Medicis upon France, is keenly felt by the historical writers of that country.

"Tout par les maudites pratiques de cette Italienne, fleau de Dieu pour nous affliger justement; puisque, notre sottise la mise en ce siege d'or, elle nous fonette à son plaisir."*

This lady, by her beauty, detestable craft, and atrocious wickedness, fully upheld the reputation of the noble family of the Medici.

Clement, being now on such friendly terms with Charles, through the medium of Cardinal Compeggio, requested his majesty to do him a small favour, which was, merely, "*to extirpate the poisonous plant of the Reformation with fire and sword.*" "Begin," said this

* A curious little book, entitled "Discours merveilleux de la Vie, Actions et Deportment de Catherine de Medicis."

pious cardinal, "with a sweeping confiscation of all property of these schismatics." Easily said, but not so easily done; the Germans were stout schismatics, and could back their arguments with the forcible logic of the sword.

Charles had not the power nor the will; he rather relished some doctrines of the Reformers, and, instead, proposed to the despotic old Pope to hold a general council, the very naming of which terrified Clement to the bottom of his heart; but what could he do? —Evade, twist, scheme, for two or three years, he did admirably well; in fact, it was the sincerity with which Charles insisted on a general council that induced Clement to turn to Francis I., in his distress, and secretly contract the alliance already mentioned. All the various plots of these sovereigns favoured the Reformation, and it rapidly spread; Clement, however, evaded the council. England revolted; his relations in Florence stained their guilty hands with each other's blood, and Clement, stung by remorse, I hope, and distracted and broken-hearted, died in 1534, at Rome. His pictures and statues which I have seen, represent him as of venerable and majestic appearance; he had talents, learning, and experience of political affairs; yet his was a bitter fate; his darling projects were spoiled, and the church of which he was the head received, in his time, a blow from which it never can recover. The Romans execrated his memory, as having brought upon them the greatest evils they had ever felt. Their joy at his death was inhuman. It is recorded, in one of the books of memoirs of the times, that Clement's physician was painted by a distinguished artist, because it was believed he killed the Pope, by a change of diet; the picture of the doctor,

it is said (but I would hope not truly), was exposed publicly, with this horrible application, "*Ecco Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi.*" If this be well founded, for which I do not vouch, it furnishes a terrible proof of the disgusting impiety of the age.

Let us revert to the fallen city of Florence. Alessandro de Medici was but twenty years of age when he got possession of the State, in July 1531; he was violent and unscrupulous; wholly devoted to pleasure, or rather to the grossest vice. "Cruelty, debauchery, and extortion marked him for public hatred." The Florentines complained to Charles. Guiccardini, the historian, who had been the creature of Clement and the Medici, and who had been the chief agent of Alessandro in abolishing the popular magistracies, was employed by his profligate master to make his defence before Charles, and the historian fulfilled his task so ably that Charles gave to the unfortunate Florentines no redress—on the contrary, visiting Florence in 1533, he established Alessandro in absolute power and gave him in marriage the illegitimate daughter already mentioned, although not of an age to become a wife.

Alessandro increased in profligacy as he grew in years. I have said the women of Florence were remarkable for modesty. Alessandro corrupted alike the chaste virgin, the nun, and the matron: at last, his unhappy subjects were relieved of the monster in a truly Italian fashion.

Ippolito, or Hyppolito, has been mentioned, a rakish cardinal of the age of twenty; who kept a fine house in Bologna, and had a famous retinue of clever miscreants from all nations. Ippolito, although dissipated, was much more of a gentleman than Alessandro; had talents, aspired to power, despised the priesthood, and

hated his rival, the negro, for his success; which feeling was cordially reciprocated by the latter.

The cardinal conceived the idea of blowing up the Duke Alessandro, by the explosion of a mine, and took into his virtuous counsels Filippo Strozzi, a member of a patriotic family, who had married Clarise, sister of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino. Before they could arrange the execution of their project, it was discovered, and Alessandro shewed equal ingenuity in avenging himself. Ippolito had prudently withdrawn to Fondi, attended by a few very faithful domestics, one of whom, at the instigation of Alessandro, mixed poison with a potion, and put an end to the career of Ippolito. Thus ingloriously a fine young cardinal was cut off in the flower of his age; but he left a natural son, who became a valorous knight of Malta in his day.

Alessandro was naturally proud of his success in this affair, and grew more wicked than before. The Florentines had still left some men of virtue, and they united to overturn the government of this flagitious profligate; but these patriots were spared all trouble by the zeal of an affectionate relative of Alessandro, one Lorenzo de Medici, of whom it is my duty now to speak.

Old Cosmo, called the father of his country, had a younger brother, named Lorenzo, a shrewd merchant, who, while Cosmo played the statesman, kept close to business, amassed a fortune, and bequeathed the whole with fatherly affection to his prudent son, Pier Francesco. Francesco, sagaciously thinking the time might come when his descendants could be as active as his uncle's in corrupting or enslaving Florence, provided they had money, added to his wealth, and divided it between his two sons, Lorenzo and Giovanni.

These young gentlemen were frugal, increased their enormous wealth, filled the offices of the commonwealth, and affected patriotism; a common practice, as we have seen, of this distinguished family. When Piero, son of the Magnificent, was driven out of Florence, Lorenzo and Giovanni declared they were shocked at his behaviour, and ashamed of the very name of Medici (as well indeed they might); insomuch that they would, and did change it, into that of Popolani. This was an excellent device to mask their project and obtain the chief power in the State. But these worthy scions of the old stock missed their aim, as we have seen, by the restoration of the other branch of the family, and died before they had an opportunity of doing any thing particularly wicked. Most unfortunately, however, each left a son, a precious legacy, to Florence. Lorenzo called his boy Pier Francesco, after his father, I presume; Giovanni named his son after himself. The young Giovanni became a ferocious soldier, insomuch that he was nicknamed "Il gran Diavolo." When not fighting, he fell in love with a fair cousin, Maria Salviati, (a child of Lucrezia, who was daughter of the Magnificent Lorenzo), by whom he had a son, named Cosmo, who inherited, as will immediately be seen, all the virtues of his family.

Pier Francesco's descendant, Lorenzo, or, as he was nicknamed, Lorenzino, is now the hero of our story, as may be guessed. He was a very little fellow, but then his spirit was large; he seldom laughed—I should have said, a bad symptom, in a child—and grew up as his mother, who was a Soderini, declared, a prodigy of parts. Having a genius for composition, Lorenzino wrote a clever comedy, and, as the Medici ever did, when not engaged in any piece of wickedness, cultivated

letters. Lorenzino had two sisters, who married the two sons of Giovanni Baptista Strozzi, surnamed Filippo. Filippo was very rich, and proud, and patriotic, bent upon restoring the republic, and very likely putting himself at its head if he could. He prided himself on the antiquity of his House, and despised the Medici, who were, he said, mere upstarts, and descended, as all perfectly well knew, from a crafty apothecary. Yet this Strozzi aided the miscreant Alessandro in building a citadel to overcome the citizens, like the fortifications of Paris; lent him money, then quarrelled with Alessandro, and was one of those who complained before Charles, when Guiccardini made his roguish speech and deceived the Emperor. Lorenzino very naturally associated with his new connections, and old Strozzi taught the aspiring youth how to be a patriot. Profiting by his instruction, he vowed he would one day act the part of Brutus, and he certainly kept his word. First, however, he paid a visit to Rome, where Clement received him very well, and then (I must say very properly) threatened to hang him for stealing, or breaking the heads off, the statues in the Arch of Constantine, which had escaped the barbarians. But the Medici ever had a taste for collecting curiosities and gems of art, and Lorenzino thought he might do a little in that way while in the Eternal City. Returning to Florence, he attached himself warmly, in appearance, to Alessandro, from whom he received much kindness; in consideration of which he resolved to kill the tyrant. But, certainly, if Lorenzino had any resemblance to Brutus, which I doubt, Alessandro had none to Cæsar. The mode in which the young patriot accomplished his purpose was not very like that pursued by the old Roman. He entered fully into the licentious practices

of Alessandro, and helped to gratify his base and criminal desires; thus he became the confidant of the lascivious tyrant.

On the 6th of January, 1537, a pretended assignation was made at the House of Lorenzino, between Alessandro and the wife of an honourable Florentine citizen, where, in a private chamber, the Duke, expecting the object of his passion, was murdered by Lorenzino and a stout assassin, whom he hired for the purpose.

Thus fell Alessandro, whose bust should be placed between that of Nero and Caligula, and with him ended the descendants, legitimate and illegitimate, of Cosmo, called the father of his country.

Lorenzino locked the door of the apartment in which was left the body of the tyrant, and escaped to Strozzi. The murderer was received as a second Brutus, and a medal, commemorative of the murder, was struck, with a design, explained by Mr. Roscoe in his book.

I may as well finish Lorenzino's history. He first wrote an apology for his conduct (and certainly it was required), in which, describing Alessandro in very black colours, but not blacker than he deserved, and denying the duke was a Medici (in which I think Lorenzo must have been mistaken), he declared his object was, "not to revenge himself, but to free the commonwealth." Lamenting his fellow-citizens were not as patriotic as himself, he retired to Venice, and, having wandered about some years, was in his turn murdered by two assassins, who wished to recommend themselves to his cousin.

Lorenzino, it will be remembered, was a son of the elder of two brothers, and therefore might be regarded as head of the family of Medici.

We must now revert to his cousin, young Cosmo,

who possessed all the cunning and ability, but little of the virtues, of his celebrated ancestor.

While Strozzi was collecting together the friends of liberty, to make a last effort for the restoration of the republic, the adherents of the murdered duke took all precautions to preserve their power within the city. Having assembled the soldiers, they called a select meeting of the citizens to consider of the form of government they should adopt. Unfortunately for Florence, Guiccardini was still alive and influential, favoured the Medici, and preferred having one of that family at the head of affairs to restoring his country's freedom. Like many of the literary characters of the age, the historian was exceedingly corrupt. Cosmo, whom Mr. Roscoe judiciously compares to young Octavius, commencing a career of patriotism, ran away from his mother, appeared before the meeting, and made a speech, proving himself possessed of a surprising elocution. He modestly begged to be made chief of the republic, declared, with affecting solemnity, he would preserve freedom, govern wholly by the direction of his friends, yield obedience to the laws, and be content with the trifling stipend of twelve thousand crowns. Nothing could possibly be fairer than the request, and all confessed the youth had spoken cleverly. Guiccardini backed the arguments of Cosmo with his influence, saying, it would be an excellent thing to have a strong government like that of Venice or Genoa, with the representative of the House of Medici at its head as a kind of doge or governor.

There was a wise old counsellor present, who warned Guiccardini he was about to do a very silly or a very mischievous act, as he would soon find to his cost; but Guiccardini was obstinate, his advice prevailed, and young Cosmo was proclaimed governor of Florence, or

chief of the republic. The sagacious friend of Guiccardini was right; Cosmo having secured the friendship of Charles V. by proposing to marry his daughter, the widow of Alessandro, quickly threw off the mask, and proved himself a very Octavius. At first he was restrained by the fear of the patriots. Although they had missed their opportunity of marching against Florence, or seizing the government before Cosmo was proclaimed, yet were they not idle, and, having gained the friendship of Francis I., collected a considerable force, and advanced towards Florence. Strozzi and the most virtuous citizens, left to the commonwealth, were among this army, as indeed was Lorenzino.

The hostile armies met at Marona: the one anxious to establish despotism—the other burning for liberty and revenge. A furious battle was fought, for a long time with a doubtful issue. At last the fortune of Cosmo, like that of Octavius, prevailed, and the final struggle of Florence for her ancient government was over. Most of the patriots perished: of the prisoners, some were publicly insulted, tortured, and put to death. The brave but unhappy Strozzi alone survived his companions, and was placed a prisoner in the citadel. He perished by his own hands, drawing up previously to his death a singular paper, inscribed, "Deo Liberatori," in which he asserts that his object in terminating his existence, was to escape the power of his malignant enemies, by whom he might be cruelly tortured, and perhaps constrained in his agony to accuse innocent friends and relations. With an aspiration to Providence that he might at least find the resting-place of Cato, he subscribed,—

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

The whole document is given in the appendix to Mr. Roscoe's book, who, towards the close of his work, in-

dulges in some very patriotic reflections, praising however to the last his favourite hero, the Magnificent Lorenzo; whose deep schemes of ambition led to most of the evils, his accomplished though mistaken biographer so feelingly deplores.

The genius of Cosmo now expanded itself:—

"He extinguished all remains of popular liberty, established an inquisitorial police, with spies, and informers. Persons accused of designs against the State, were tortured, and often put to death. He had agents also, in various parts of Italy, to watch the conduct of the Florentine emigrants, and in some instances to get rid of the most dangerous by assassination or poison; he affected a striking change in the manners of the Florentines, who were before noted for their garrulity and lightness of conversation, they became henceforth, taciturn and cautious, and spoke in half sentences."

Guiccardini he very properly dismissed; whereupon the writer composed his valuable history; and, judging of mankind by Cosmo and his contemporaries, he ascribes the actions of all political men to selfishness and dishonesty. Henry VIII. and Charles V. liked Cosmo, and thought him a very clever tyrant. Assisted by the Emperor, he seized on the principality of Piombino and the island of Elba; crushed the republic of Siena, for no reason whatever, except that he desired to clutch what he could. The Sienese defended themselves to the last with uncommon resolution, and surrendered only on conditions: one of which was, that the citizens should be allowed to emigrate if they wished. Of 40,000 citizens before the siege, but 6,000 remained; the rest died or emigrated.

A fearful narrative is given by Sismondi of the horrors of this siege. The traveller, as he walks through the lonely streets of Pisa and Siena, is struck by the

remains of their ancient grandeur, and must mourn their fate. It is said, in one of the books on Tuscany, that Cosmo purchased Leghòrn from the Genoese for an inconsiderable sum. This is a mistake, it was bought upwards of a hundred years before, in 1421, by the Florentinè republicans.

Cosmo certainly is entitled to the praise of having made it a free port; he rather wished his subjects should, like the bees, make honey for his enjoyment. All Tuscany, by one act of rapacity after another, became united under his rule.

Cosmo now felt it to be high time to have the title of Grand-Duke of Tuscany, so he applied to his friend Pope Pius V., with whom he was on terms of most affectionate intimacy.

Cosmo was immoral and wicked.

"But (saith Ranke) the devotion he manifested to the Holy See, the strict ecclesiastical rules which he introduced into his dominions, were, in the eyes of the Pope, merits which covered all his defects."

The same profound historian writes that Cosmo

"Delivered up Camesechi, one of the literati who had taken part in the first movement towards Protestantism, to the Pope. Neither his personal respectability, nor the reputation of his family, nor the relation in which he stood to the reigning house, had power to afford him protection; he was delivered up in fetters to the Roman Inquisition, and condemned to perish in the flames."

It appears, from the works on Tuscany, that Cosmo, to oblige Pius V., also established the inquisition in his dominions, and several suffered death under its horrible decrees.

Hereafter I will shew when and by whom that terrible tribunal was abolished.

This Pius V. (whose awful history we may believe no man in Europe reads with a deeper thrill of horror than Pius IX.) it was who, in return for Cosmo's services to the church, conferred on him the title of Grand-Duke of Tuscany, that he might be superior to all dukes and princes, and inferior in rank only to kings. He was crowned in splendour at Rome, his costly diadem bearing an inscription befitting *so faithful a disciple* of the church.

This title has continued to the present day, although it is generally admitted to have been one which the terrible Dominican Inquisitor, Pius V., had no right whatever to grant.

Cosmo, an able unprincipled tyrant in public, was wretched in private life; he had by one wife five sons, of whom two were named Giovanni and Garzia. The Pope made Giovanni a cardinal at the age of seventeen, and conferred on him the Archbishopric of Pisa before he was twenty. Garzia was fifteen years of age, each brother hating the other with more than usual family animosity. These brothers, in pursuing the chase, are supposed to have quarrelled, when Garzia plunged a poniard in his brother's bosom, and killed the young cardinal on the spot. Garzia endeavoured to conceal the murder, but it was remarked, after he entered the palace, he was never seen again. The gloomy tyrant Cosmo avenged, it is believed, with his own hand the crime, by plunging a dagger into Garzia's heart. Their bodies were buried with great pomp in the cathedral, and, to deceive the people, an oration was pronounced in their praise. The mother of these unhappy youths quickly followed them to the grave; well would it have been, for the honour of human nature, had their father also perished.

The above fearful narrative I have read in two authors

who have written on the history of Italy, but the story is doubted by a third, and unquestionably probability is against it; and yet, on the other hand, no guilt seems too enormous for the Italian history of that period. Alfieri has employed his vigorous pen in composing a tragedy, "Don Garzia," founded on this terrible story; but the lofty genius of the poet fails to render the tale more appalling, even when clad in his nervous verse.

The Pope immediately conferred on a younger brother the same ecclesiastical honours he had before granted to the unfortunate Garzia.

There is another story more horrible still believed against Cosmo. He had a beautiful daughter named Isabella. Vasari, the artist and most amusing writer, being engaged in painting the ceiling of the great hall of the palace, witnessed from his scaffolding a scene which cannot be related. The monster parent perceiving the scaffolding stir, ran up poniard in hand, but the artist affecting sleep escaped. When Vasari had completed his work, and got away from Tuscany, he published the unnatural guilt he had witnessed.

There is little more to say of Cosmo. Stung by remorse we may suppose, the tyrant, in poor imitation of his ally and protector the Emperor Charles, retired from the government he had usurped, and resigned all management of public business to his son Francesco. He soon after died in the Pitti Palace, 21st April, 1574, haunted by fears of assassination to the latest moment of his guilty life. This man had undoubtedly high political talents, and, like most of his race, professed to encourage learning, architecture, and the fine arts; but he proved how little beneficial effect such tastes may have on a depraved disposition, or a corrupt and wicked heart.

CHAPTER XVI.

Francesco Maria, second Grand-Duke of Tuscany.—A Family Murder.—The Fate of Italian Lovers in the Story of Bianca Capello.—A Cardinal Poisons cleverly, and wins a Crown, under the Title of Ferdinand I.—Proves a clever Usurper, and a Match for Pope Sixtus.—Mary de Medici's Marriage.—Ferdinand saves the Life of James I. — Gives prudent advice to the French King, and dies.—Cosmo II. loves the Fine Arts, and poisons nobody.—Ferdinand II. makes a Mistake in quarrelling with Cromwell. — Obeys the Church. — Delivers Galileo to the Inquisition.—Dies, and has a great Funeral.—Cosmo III., the last of the Medici.—A silly Devotee.— Becomes a Canon of St. Peter's.—Touches the Holy Handkerchief.—Baffles the Doctors, and lives to a great Age. — His classical Recreations —Dies.—A few Reflections.

"FRANCESCO MARIA, second Grand-Duke of Tuscany, was born March 25, 1541, and had every advantage that so illustrious, so learned, and so elegant a father could give him."

The above is the first sentence of a biography of Francesco, written, to my astonishment, by an Englishman. Perhaps he meant to describe Cosmo as an illustrious villain, otherwise it would furnish but one more melancholy proof of the weakness and folly of men, in permitting the false splendour which a successful tyrant can throw around his usurpation, to varnish over his abominable crimes, so as to make them pass for virtues. Francesco was of mature age when he succeeded to the crown: his title of Grand-Duke was ratified by the then Emperor, and he stood well with the Pope and sovereigns of

Europe. He proved himself the worthy son of so "elegant a father." Isabella, his sister, of whom Vasari related so fearful a story, was now married to the Duke of Bracciano, a Roman nobleman, resident in Florence. He was handsome in person, but corrupt in morals. The younger brother of the Grand-Duke (Pietro) was married to a lady named Eleanora, the daughter of the Marquis of Ville Franca. The conduct of this lady was equally shameful with that of Isabella,—each naturally relished the society of the other. Francesco would have overlooked their immoralities, but he conceived they entered into a conspiracy against himself. He therefore, in a very humane spirit, proposed to their respective husbands, that they should put these miserable profligate women to death. Bracciano and Pietro, pleased to have the Grand-Duke's permission, strangled their wives a few days after, spreading the report that Isabella and Eleanora had imprudently eaten mushrooms, and so were poisoned. Bracciano was afterwards himself supposed to have been poisoned in Milan.

Francesco had married Joanna, niece of the Emperor Maximilian; she now trembled for her fate, wherefore, in the hope of averting it and recovering her husband's affections, she made a pilgrimage to the lady of Loretto, spent the days and nights on the pavement in the church, and loaded the sacred image with golden ornaments, but, unfortunately, all in vain. The pious lady died of a broken heart. Francesco now desired to supply Joanna's place with a Venetian woman of great beauty, Bianca Capello. This female, of whom the most opposite accounts are given, was the wife of a man in humble life, and maintained herself by washing linen. One writer says that she was the mistress of Francesco,

another, that she was a woman of incorruptible chastity. The husband was enriched by Francesco, and afterwards murdered by the tyrant's command: to the surprise of all, the Grand-Duke then married his mistress, the washerwoman, and delivered himself up to her influence, filling museums with rare objects of art, and spending his life in voluptuous pleasure.

Bianca proved the strength of her affection for her first husband, by marrying his assassin. Francesco had a brother, named Ferdinand, a cardinal; his eminence now thought it became him, as a religious man, to interfere, lest Bianca might have a son, and so interrupt his succession to the ducal crown; accordingly, he invited Bianca and Francesco to a dinner, at the Palace à Caino, a few miles from Florence, where, after the chase, the unsuspecting couple sat down to their repast with the unbelieving cardinal; his eminence had a nice tart prepared for his guests, of which the Grand-Duke and Bianca ate heartily. The cardinal declared his stomach was out of order, and that sweets were unsuited to him. Francesco and Bianca were speedily affected by the poison; the good cardinal had them removed, with affectionate care, to a gloomy apartment, and locked in; there the miserable couple perished, no living creature being permitted to enter until the poison had accomplished its deadly work; then the cardinal opened the door and had the bodies removed, declaring he was very sorry for what had happened, but the fact, he said, was, Bianca had prepared the poisoned tart for him, and observing her husband partake of it, she, in despair, ate of it also, preferring death to exposure; and, in accordance with this poor deceit, Francesco's body was buried with splendid pomp, Bianca's remains were flung ignominiously into a pit. The deliberate

villany of this horrible transaction has never since been, I will not say excelled, but equalled, by any one member of the Medici family, always excepting Catherine. Of Bianca, one writer says she was innocent, another guilty; one, that she was no less chaste than beautiful, another that she was immoral and cruel; all agree that she met a tragical fate; I believe she possessed considerable talent. A circumstance in her favour is, that the family of the Medici professed to execrate her memory as a wicked woman. The inclination of my mind is, therefore, to believe exactly the opposite of their assertion. It was their interest to blacken her memory to save their own reputation. Francesco misgoverned Tuscany thirteen years, having been murdered in October, 1587. He proved a munificent patron of the fine arts, and added largely to the museum in Florence, as, I believe, did likewise every assassin of the family; moreover, he was the slave of Philip II., and it is believed of him, that he regularly employed murderers to pursue and destroy, as best they could, the exiled Florentine patriots. The third child of Francesco by Joanna deserves to be mentioned, as undoubtedly she will ever be remembered. Mary de Medicis, born 1575, married, in 1600, to Henry IV. of France, died July 1643; the French have a lively recollection of her virtues.

Ferdinand I. was a clever villain:—a cardinal at the age of fourteen, he thought he possessed a genius for administration, and having removed all obstacles out of the way in the manner which has been narrated, assumed the government. This reign continued till the year 1604. Usurpers, it has been said, generally endeavour to atone for the crime of their usurpation, by the ability of their rule. Unquestionably the administra-

tion of Ferdinand was firm, politic, and judicious. No doubt he was a deep hypocrite, but that best enabled him to cope with the dissemblers by whom he was surrounded. Having grieved some years, with unaffected sorrow, for his dear brother, he sent in his resignation as cardinal, which Pope Sixtus V. accepted with suitable feelings of regret; making however the ex-cardinal lodge two silver statues, weighing sixty pounds each, in the Lateran (which the prudent Pope quietly melted down), in return for acquiring the right of marrying when he pleased. Ferdinand piously declared his deceased brother had been too rich for the good of his soul. He knew the Court of Rome well, and took delight in foiling its plans; and, strange to say, preferred Elizabeth of England to Philip of Spain. When the Spanish bigot and the Pope combined against Henry III. of France, Ferdinand advised the weak French king to seize Avignon, march straight to Rome, and catch the Pope. When Henry III. was assassinated. Ferdinand so befriended Henry IV., that he induced that pleasure-loving monarch to marry his niece, Mary de Medicis—an unhappy alliance. Mary was not handsome nor agreeable, and certainly not amiable, and could not retain the affections of her husband.

Ferdinand, having thus secured the alliance of France, next helped a remote relative, but a Medici, to the papacy under the title of Leo XI.; he had been Archbishop of Florence, and ambassador to Rome, but his reign lasted twenty-seven days only.

It is curious to observe that Ferdinand, although a Cardinal and so connected with Rome, became jealous of its influence, and disliked the great ally of the church, Philip, King of Spain. There is an anecdote told of this Grand-Duke, which, if true, reflects lights on his

singular character. Having discovered that a plot was formed in Rome to cut off James VI. of Scotland, and so prevent a Protestant sovereign succeeding Elizabeth, the Grand-Duke despatched a Mr. Henry Wotton, a follower of the unfortunate Lord Essex, and a refugee in Italy, to warn the Scotch king of his danger. James never forgot this kindness; and afterwards, when sovereign of England, employed Wotton as his ambassador on various occasions to Italy. Thus there was a friendship between the Medici and the Stuarts, whose fortunes were as different as the political abilities of the families. Ferdinand loved to plague the papacy, and once threatened Rome with inundations, for he raised such embankments close by the conflux of the Tiber and Arno, that the water rushed in a torrent into the papal dominions and menaced Rome itself. The altering the embankments of these rivers was an old subject of dispute between Rome and Tuscany. He extirpated the banditti which infested Italy from his dominions, allowed justice to be administered between man and man, regulated markets, increased the trade of Leghorn, kept a private box in which to receive anonymous letters, in order to detect conspiracies. On the whole, he was a capital tyrant: as a matter of course he favoured the fine arts, and erected magnificent buildings; amongst the rest, the costly chapel of San Lorenzo, wherein is the most stately burial-place in Europe. The observations of Cooper on his visit to this chapel are excellent. It is one of the sights of Florence erected to commemorate with glittering splendour a race of vicious upstarts, whilst a modest memorial preserves the name of the great Leopold descended from an illustrious line of kings, and more illustrious by his virtues. Innumerable statues were made of Ferdinand, and medals struck to his ho-

nour; in fine, all the play-things of tyrants surrounded him in profusion. His private amusements resembled those of Nero. They consisted in preparing poisons, and discovering their antidotes. He aspired to become both Pope and Grand-Duke, but stout old Sixtus disappointed his expectations, and forced him to marry; so he wedded the devout daughter of Charles Duke of Lorrain, and had by her five sons and four daughters, to whom he bequeathed the rich inheritance of his most virtuous life. He died Feb., 1604, having upheld in all things the peculiar reputation of the Medici family.

Cosmo II. was born in 1590, so, he was very young when he succeeded his respectable parent to the sovereignty of Tuscany, and he died in 1621. He patronized the fine arts in the usual fashion, wished to be King of Tuscany, and died without poisoning any one that I can discover. The Florentines rather respect his memory.

Ferdinand II. succeeded the amiable Cosmo at the age of ten years, his mother, one of the House of Austria, being regent during his minority. It seems Florence was during his reign, as it is now, the place of refuge for ill-behaved princes, expelled from their own dominions, and also for distinguished political refugees. This young duke made one mistake, in offending Oliver Cromwell. The Protector sent Blake with a fleet to blow up Leghorn, which catastrophe was only prevented by the payment of some 60,000*l.* to the English admiral. Oliver, however, could not persuade the Grand-Duke to allow the English merchants to have a place of Protestant worship in Leghorn; the Pope would not hear of it. How much things are changed for the better now!

Ferdinand was weak and superstitious. It is said that the improvements made in Leghorn harbour, and in draining the morasses about Pisa, were suggested by an

Englishman, Sir Robert Dudley, who coaxed so many English over to Florence that the Grand-Duke granted him a pension. Ferdinand cringed to the Pope, and had the meanness to deliver up the philosopher Galileo to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. His government was severe, and the taxes imposed by him oppressive. Ecclesiastics, monasteries, and nunneries abounded in his reign, and consequently the population of the Duchy diminished. He contrived to have two of his brothers cardinals, who, of course, died childless, and so diminished the chances of successors to the noble house of Medici. "His principal amusement was in taking the air with the rest of the grand-ducal family in carriages,"—a dull recreation; he also "spent the season of Lent in Leghorn, because he could have the best fish and at the cheapest rate," and in May, 1670, died of apoplexy. There were 1500 monks and an English horse at his pompous funeral. His wife, who was "beautiful, stately, and austere, outlived Ferdinand but one month." Two sons survived, Cosmo, who succeeded to the crown, and Francesco Maria, of course a cardinal.

Cosmo the Third, born in August 1642, ought to have been a shaven monk. He was the slave of superstition, and avaricious of money, which he had no heart to spend. He led the life of a drivelling bigot. The oppressed, stupified Florentines, were overwhelmed with imposts, for the passion of their bigoted ruler was to amass wealth. He had married a sprightly French princess, daughter of the Duke of Orleans, in 1661. She, naturally enough, detested her gloomy parsimonious husband. Cosmo grew jealous even of the French servants, and never permitted his wife to appear in public, unless masked—a severe punishment for a Frenchwoman; at last she escaped to the brilliant

Court of Louis XIV. An uniformity of dulness now prevailed in Florence. Every blessing or enjoyment was rejected by the contemptible miser; he could be liberal only in the purchase of the hand of a saint or the toe of a confessor; but "the regalia of Tuscany would have been endangered by the offer of a pickled martyr." To the lady of Loretto he presented the richest gifts. His abject bigotry brought him to Rome, where his thoughts were bent on laying hands on the sacred handkerchief, which the traveller may remember is on great festivals exhibited in St. Peter's from the gallery over the statue of St. Veronica—but here there was a difficulty; it seems none but canons of St. Peter's can have this honour, whereupon the ridiculous sovereign besought the Pope to create him an ecclesiastic, so that he might touch the precious relic. The Pope, no doubt much entertained by his folly, gratified the princely devotee, and he gained his grand object, nay, even blessed the people and crawled on his knees before the Pope. He then got the monks of La Trappe into his duchy, and exhibited his ingenuity by the construction of a machine which turned before him the statue of a saint, upon the proper day of its festival, that so, in his palace, he might pay his abject devotions. Thus did this miserable prince spend a long life, having reigned upwards of sixty years. The only matter in which he shewed even the craft of his family was in preventing Cività Vecchia being declared by the Pope a free port, to the injury of Leghorn, whence he derived his largest revenues. Mr. Addison adverts to this topic in his travels, and explains how it was prevented:—

"The great Duke's money was so well bestowed in the conclave, that several of the cardinals dissuaded the Pope

from the undertaking, and at last turned all his thoughts upon the little port which he made at Antium, near Nettuno."

The faculty should also note how Cosmo III. preserved his longevity, by great temperance and moderation in food; nor did he ever approach a fire, his attendants warmed his apartment by breathing in it before his arrival. But the faculty would not be pleased to know that he tried to rival his physicians in compounding physic, and excelled them in making perfumery. The intellect of the Medici was now evidently approaching idiocy: as to his family and hopes of a successor, Mr. Addison gives an amusing description. I think our English traveller, however, is mistaken in asserting that the Cardinal, brother of Cosmo III., never could be prevailed upon to resign the purple for the uncertain prospect of giving an heir to the dukedom of Tuscany, for he did resign the purple, marry, and died soon after childless. Happily for Tuscany, this detestable family now approached extinction.

The last of the House of Medici, Giovanni Gaston, brother of Duke Cosmo III., was fifty years old when he succeeded to the throne of Tuscany; this whimsical trifler slept away his contemptible existence, ate in bed, for many years, seldom left it, and never dressed himself, had some vile tastes, but was lenient to his subjects; in fact, he could scarce awake himself to punish them, and so he dozed on till the 9th of July, 1737, when he died, and with him the hopes of the Medici.

I have waded through the history of the latter sovereigns of Tuscany, of the celebrated House of Medici, with disgust; it is painful to narrate the systematic and abominable wickedness of rulers whose behaviour affects the happiness of millions. The history of the Medici affords more instances of family assassinations than can

be paralleled in any sovereign Christian House in Europe. Yet these superstitious or profligate tyrants were patrons of learning, the fine arts, founders of museums, collectors of curiosities, the false splendour of which has glossed over the memory of their crimes. Men speak of the Medici as benefactors of mankind, and the history of many of this family has been written in strains of unmeasured panegyric; nor is this surprising, when we find an English gentleman, nay, more, a clergyman of the Church of England,* concludes his memoirs of "the Illustrious House of Medici," with this extraordinary passage:—

"It must be allowed that their vices always kept pace with their refinements, and that they hid their crimes under some resembling virtue. But as the world have more obligations to the Medici than to any other family that ever appeared, by their restoring and improving knowledge, learning, and elegance, it will in time obliterate their faults, their usurpation, tyranny, pride, their perfidiousness, vindictive cruelty—their parricides and incest, will be remembered no more. *Future ages will forget their atrocious crimes in a fond admiration for, and gratitude to them.*"

This confounds all distinctions between vice and virtue, and asserts the monstrous doctrine that elegant accomplishments or polished tastes may, and ought to, efface the recollection of the most abominable crimes and a flagitious violation of the laws of God. Whereas, the possession of political talents and splendid acquirements greatly aggravates the guilt of great criminals, who not only insult mankind by their audacious wickedness, but disgrace learning and polite accomplishments which ought to elevate human nature, by prostituting them to cloak enormities from the indignant reprobation of the world.

* Rev. Mark Noble.

CHAPTER XVII.

The condition in which the Medici left Tuscany, and how the kingdom was disposed of, on the extinction of that amiable family.

Modern travellers hastily conclude, as they examine with delight the wonders of art collected by the Medici in Florence, that this celebrated family were benefactors of their country, exalting it by their talents and reforming it by their taste. The cultivation of the fine arts may embellish a State, wisdom and virtue are essential to promote the solid happiness of a people; we have seen by the history of the Medici that a passion for literature and the fine arts is compatible with meanness, wickedness, and unscrupulous tyranny; moral rectitude and the fear of God can alone control man's conscience, ennoble his character, and direct his actions to worthy or glorious purposes.

To what condition let us now inquire did the Medici reduce their beautiful country; they found it prosperous, free, and great. The answer to this question may be given in the words of Bishop Burnet, who travelled in Italy in the latter end of the seventeenth century. The travels of the bishop and of Addison are, although somewhat antiquated, pleasing and instructive; in the book of the former is the description of Tuscany as he then saw it.*

* Burnet's Travels, 143.

" Florence is much sunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above 50,000 souls in it; and the other States, that were once great republics, such as Siena and Pisa, while they retained their liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing. It is certain that all three together are not now so numerous as any one of them was 200 years ago. Leghorn is full of people, and all round Florence there are a great many villages; but as one goes over Tuscany, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a country that hath been a scene of so much action, and so many wars, now so forsaken and so poor; and that in many places the soil is quite *neglected for want of hands to cultivate it;* and in other places, where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much poverty in so rich a country, which is all over so full of beggars. And here the style of begging was a little altered from what I found in Lombardy; for, whereas there they begged for the sake of St. Anthony, here all begged for the souls that were in purgatory; and this was the style in all the other parts of Italy through which I passed. In short, the dispeopling of Tuscany, and most of the principalities of Italy, but chiefly of the Pope's dominions, which are more abandoned than any other part of Italy, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the government, and the great decay of trade. Yet this is not the chief cause of the dispeopling of those rich countries. The severity of the taxes is the true reason. Notwithstanding all that decay of trade, the taxes are still kept up. Besides the vast wealth of convents, where the only people of Italy are to be found, that live not only at their ease, but in great plenty and luxury, makes many forsake all sort of industry and seek for a retreat in one of those seats of pleasure; so that the people do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those whom a hard government drives away.

It needs must surprise an inattentive traveller, to see not only the Venetian territory, which is indeed a rich country, but the bailiages of the Switzers, and the coast of Genoa so full of people, when Tuscany, the patrimony, and the kingdom of Naples have so few inhabitants."

The decay of Tuscany dates from the sovereignty of the Medici; of the sepulchral peace which succeeded to the establishment of the reigning families in Italy our own Sidney has given us a glowing but a faithful picture.

" Notwithstanding all the seditions of Florence and the other cities of Tuscany, the horrid factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, Neri and Bianchi, nobles and commons, they continued populous, strong, and exceeding rich; but in the space of less than 150 years, the peaceful reign of the Medici, *is thought to have destroyed nine parts out of ten of the people of that province.*"

Among other things it is somewhat remarkable that when Philip II. of Spain gave Siena to the Duke of Florence, his ambassador then at Rome, sent him word that he had given away more than 650,000 subjects; and it is not believed there are at present 20,000 inhabiting that city and territory.

We have now merely to add that by a treaty amongst the great powers, which did not give general satisfaction, Tuscany was yielded to the Duke of Lorrain on the extinction of the family of the Medici, in consideration of which the duke resigned Alsace to Stanislaus the philosopher, named King of Poland, on whose death Alsace was annexed to France, to whom it now belongs.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIFE OF LEOPOLD, THE REFORMER.

A Youthful Reformer, whose history proves how Trade may be revived, Commerce stimulated, Taxes lightened.—The Jesuits expelled.—Inquisition Repressed.—Priestcraft checked.—An Army dispensed with.—Education encouraged.—A Church Reformed.—A Criminal Code rendered consistent and humane. A State ruined transformed into a flourishing Kingdom.

"Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospera omnia cedunt."

To procure a history either in English or Italian of this extraordinary man I found a difficult matter. Books have been written in profusion to record and magnify the actions of the Medici; yet in Genoa, Pisa, Leghorn, or Rome, there was not a copy to be procured of the history of Leopold the Reformer. In Rome a bookseller informed me that such a book would not be permitted to be sold in the Papal States. On application to a friend long resident in Florence he made out for me a "Life of Leopold," which I received with no common satisfaction. There is something refreshing as well as instructive in perusing a narrative of the virtuous labours for a people's happiness of a truly great and patriotic sovereign. In Italian history this is rare. A career of splendid usefulness is often overlooked by the unthinking multitude who prefer the

glare of the conqueror and his false renown, or the glitter of prodigal and vicious tyrants. The book before me is entitled "*Memorie Per Servire alla Vita di Leopold II. Imperatore de' Romani Già Gran Duca Di Toscana.*"

The author suppresses his name, and modestly premises he intends to publish a very simple summary of facts relating to the public actions, the policy and legislation of Leopold, Grand-Duke of Tuscany; and he keeps his word, for his book is a pithy narrative of important facts, with little commentary or disquisition. It contains no fine reciting; his matter was too abundant. A more curious contrast there cannot be than between the memoirs of the great Leopold compiled by an Italian author and Mr. Roscoe's elegant though diffuse biographies of the Medici.

The first book comprehends the history of Leopold from his birth till his arrival in Tuscany, and the festivities which took place on that joyful occasion. This brings us to the close of the year 1765. Leopold, second son of the celebrated Maria Theresa and of the Duke of Lorrain, afterwards Emperor of Germany, was born 5th May, 1747, and, pursuant to the treaty referred to, became entitled to the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany; but the Court of Spain claiming the Duchy, or at least all the precious personalty of the extinct house of Medici, Maria Theresa resolved to end all cavil by marrying Leopold to the Infanta of Spain. This marriage was assented to by Spain on the express condition that Tuscany should never be united to the empire of Austria, but should constitute a separate independent kingdom. The marriage took place at Innspruck in the Tyrol in August, 1765, when Leopold had scarcely attained his nineteenth year. The splen-

did ceremony was darkened by an awful event, the sudden death of the Emperor Francis, who dropped dead in his box at the theatre 18th of August in this year.

Leopold immediately departed for Tuscany, of which he assumed the absolute sovereignty: his first public act was the proclamation of a general amnesty, coupled with an invitation to all emigrants to return to their country. He next exhibited his generosity in mitigating a famine then afflicting Florence.

Having performed religiously the obsequies of his father, the young sovereign now revolved in his mind great ideas, which formed the basis of his entire subsequent policy. He examined the ability of the State, its advantages and disadvantages, and considered how to diminish public misery by augmenting traffic, sustaining industry, extending commerce, and rendering wholesome, fruitful, and populous, the waste and unwholesome Maremma.*

How Leopold proceeded to accomplish his vast projects of benevolence, is narrated in the second book, which ends with the year 1780.

Fortunately there was universal peace. The historian at the outset of his second book indulges in a reflection. The reign of Leopold could not, he remarks, be brilliant, if glory and fame are only to follow the crash of arms, or surprising conquests. The originating, reforming mind of Leopold, opened for him-

* This tract extends along the shore of the Mediterranean from Leghorn to Terracina, and reaches inland as far as the first chain of the Apennines; its length is about 192 miles; its breadth various, greatest in the Agro Romana, where it is thirty miles. The term *maremma* signifies literally nothing more than the land on the sea coast, but it is now commonly applied to the large unwholesome tracts of land afflicted by malaria.

self a different field of triumph. He discovered in Tuscany a confusion of old and barbarous laws, many abuses in the government, an involved system of administration; throughout, inconsistency and absurdity.

Leopold put himself to the task of reforming these complicated abuses amidst the congratulations of his subjects—a vast field to traverse, and which has rendered this legislator memorable in Tuscany, famous throughout Europe. It would require, continues the historian, great space to recount his deeds, since the laws, proclamations, and edicts of his reign are contained in *ten volumes*. But the task of the writer is not, he says, to compose a philosophical history, but to describe in brief memoirs the things done by a reforming prince. Clearness requires chronological order, and thus the principal events of each year are set down, while the minuteness of a diary is avoided.

It may not be attractive to translate this terse narrative of facts; but I can describe chronologically with sufficient precision what was done successfully to raise a country sunk in misery, to prosperity and happiness.

1766.—Leopold commences by visiting Pisa and Leghorn to see with his own eyes their actual condition; at the latter place he went on board his ships of war, and attended a ball given him by the English residents, with all possible pomp and magnificence. He then tested the speed of his vessels with those of other countries. After universal rejoicings he returned to Florence to be present at the festival of St. John, the Patron saint of that city; he then made several journeys through Tuscany, returning to *Palazzo Pitti* in November.

Great practical improvement now began; first, in order to fertilize and people the province of the Ma-

remma, he granted privileges to all those who would undertake its cultivation.

I may here pause a moment to remark, Leopold created no board, issued no commission, but laboured to reclaim and improve these waste, unhealthy lands, by making *it the interest* of the people who would undertake the work to succeed, inasmuch as they would reap themselves the fruits of their success,—a simple but successful plan.*

He next remodelled the magisterial departments of the province of Siena, in which these lands lay, and made the administration depend on the government in Florence, so as to supervise effectually the proceedings relative to the great work of reclamation. A new road, long projected, from Pistoja to Modena, was begun and finished. He then forbad the currency of Papal money, and reformed his own small silver coin; an exemption from all duty on foreign meal was granted for a limited period; a similar exemption for one year on all native linen cloth, which should be exported from the Duchy by way of Leghorn; the like rule was made as to the earthenware of Tuscany. It was now proclaimed

* In connexion with the reclamation of the Maremma, ought to be mentioned what is termed the Colmata, a curious and ingenious process. The rains bring down immense quantities of earth from the Apennines, insomuch that the discharge of the rivers into the sea is impeded. Torricelli, I believe, first taught the Tuscans to enclose with dykes the marshy ground or Maremma, and force the water to remain stagnant so as to deposit its mud; the water was then let off, and the sediment raised the level of the bottom. This operation, repeated several times in the year, and raising each time the bottom four inches, fertilized vast tracts; the soil thus created proving of the richest fertility. The Val di Chiana affords a remarkable instance of the success of this operation.

that all men were free to bake and sell bread without payment of any tax whatever, which before had been forbidden. To relieve the peasants and inhabitants of the country, he released them from the duty on meal; and then abolished all taxes, local or general, which impeded the free circulation of corn throughout the Duchy. Thus did he labour to mitigate the disasters which had so long oppressed it. In Florence he enlarged and beautified some streets, and ordered the demolition of all the projecting or wretched habitations which encumbered or deformed the public places of the city. He looked into the affairs of certain monasteries, issued economical regulations for them to pursue; finally, edicts were published specifying the control to be exercised over persons belonging to the service of the crown.

Thus did Leopold spend his honeymoon.

1767.—January, Leopold, before twenty-one, became a father. There was a grand festival, combining splendour with charity, 100 poor girls were portioned off in marriage, and other acts of generosity performed. In April the sovereign visits Pisa.

I observe in these visits Leopold generally first attends church, and then goes straight to the theatre. From Pisa he traversed the Maremma district, overseeing the enforcement of his regulations for the reclamation of waste lands and the improvement of canals and harbours.

There were great rejoicings in Siena; a grand spectacle commencing by the entrance into the Piazza of a superb chariot drawn by six horses, in which was placed a figure representing the Felicity of Tuscany, accompanied by the royal virtue of the sovereign. Companies of peasants with flags followed. The Jews also

gave a brilliant *fête* in the grand Piazza. It seems to me all classes now comprehended the noble character of their prince.

Our author observes, it may appear to some these repeated journeys through the country by the Grand-Duke were merely for entertainment—quite the contrary. A sovereign arriving a stranger in a State ought to see every thing,—on the one hand satisfying himself, on the other giving contentment to his subjects, who may desire to know their ruler. On this principle, Leopold visited all places in Tuscany, small and great, striving to win the affections of his people. He saw, examined, directed every thing,—"*Niente sfuggi all' occhio del sovranno: tutto vide, ed a tutto dette o nuovi ordini o approvazione.*"

Having attended the launching of a new frigate at Leghorn we accompany Leopold to Florence, and consider the principal enactments of this year, omitting those of a temporary nature. The duty on tallow and candles was abolished as were all monopolies previously existing in the sale of these articles. The laws relating to minors were remodelled,—certain festivals were required to be kept sacred from business, the law of stamps was reformed, and a pardon to all deserters was proclaimed. On the 20th of September appeared one of the most celebrated of his edicts, having in view *to encourage the cultivation of lands heretofore neglected.* This law consisted of fifty paragraphs, and it embraced the whole Tuscan dominion, by which was abolished all duty on produce,—all police impositions on public bakeries,—all revenue derivable from them,—all petty monopolies; every subject had the right to open bakeries heretofore monopolised, and three classes of bread were established with the price and weight fixed

for each. He abolished every edict prohibiting the purchase of grain or corn, giving liberty by law to every man to sell, buy, and store up at his pleasure corn and grain; and in order that there might be a free transport of corn and bread from one district to another he abolished every duty which impeded their removal.

With respect to foreign trade in corn, Leopold established a sliding-scale, permitting its exportation when the price of the sack had not reached fourteen lire,* and importation when the price of the home-market exceeded fifteen lire; and under this law fell every description of oatmeal and flour. It conferred many advantages on the farmers, and was preceded by a proclamation by which the Grand-Duke granted to the province of the Maremma district the privilege for ever of exporting from Tuscany grain and corn grown in that district, without obligation to reserve a part of the harvest in favour of Siena, or any other town.

A committee of the most eminent professors of the University of Pisa was now appointed to arrange a plan of study for the youth of the country more consistent with the scientific discoveries of the age. Duties on the exportation of linen and wrought hemp, &c., were suspended for two years. One-half the duty on the export of potash, seeds, and oil of the peach-tree was abolished. He removed the register-money paid to the company of furriers and curriers for permission to set up in this trade; and compelled professors of medicine surgery, and pharmacy, to prove the value of their visits and their physic,—in addition all the royal farms and possessions *were leased out on rents.*

As commerce and agriculture were the centre from

* The lire is eightpence-halfpenny.

which ran all the laws of Leopold's policy, Tuscany was inundated with books concerning these subjects placed under the eyes of each agriculturist, merchant, and manufacturer; and premiums were awarded by royal authority for the best essays on disputed problems of these great branches of human industry.

The above is an epitome of Leopold's labours during one year; and it is a faithful representation of his whole life. I must confess my astonishment in reading the narrative. Here is a young lad invested with supreme power, surrounded by every temptation to vice and dissipation, with galleries and museums to fritter away his time, and engage his attention, spurning every vain pursuit, and applying his energies with singular judgment and amazing success to the renovation of a kingdom shattered by long misgovernment, and vexed by absurd fiscal taxations and monopolies. A stranger to Tuscany, he discovered by his unaided efforts her wants, struck boldly at the corrupt system of his predecessors, and, what seems most extraordinary is, he evinced an almost intuitive perception of the subtlest doctrines of political economy, and applied them with unflinching courage to the condition of his kingdom at a time when most countries in Europe adhered to the blind doctrines of exclusion, or to a narrow-minded commercial policy.

1768.—Leopold's first son was born; and in the same year his sister was married to the King of the Two Sicilies. There were great rejoicings in Florence, and a masked ball was given in the Palazzo Vecchio, at which were 12,000 masks.

The interest of money was now regulated; the old law which prescribed loss of capital to the creditor who had not exacted interest for a long period of time was

abolished; and in future it was enacted that whenever a creditor had not demanded interest for thirty-six years, he should be able to enforce only the capital of his debt.

By another edict he united under a sole management all the magistracies which had exercised jurisdiction over corn and provisions, and published a code of thirty paragraphs relating to both. Several small monopolies were abolished, and markets thrown open. Free exportation of oil, and many other articles was established. The farming out the revenue was prevented, and an exemption from duty was granted to all the printers in Florence in foreign types. In concluding the year's legislation, all stamp duty was removed from marriage-contracts not exceeding 300 scudi.

The Grand-Duke also promoted manufactures in plush, yarn, and goats' hair; ordained many regulations relating to the food for cattle, *and pushed on zealously the works for reclamation of land in the Maremma.* Thus did Leopold pass this year of his government.

1769.—The Emperor Joseph met Leopold at Rome, where they resided some weeks in the villa of the Medici on the Pincian-hill; afterwards there was a happy reunion in Florence. On the 6th of May Leopold's second son Ferdinand (the sovereign of Tuscany when our author wrote) was born; and on 19th May Ganganelli was elected Pope (a memorable fact), under the name of Clement XIV. Leopold then visits various parts of Tuscany, founds new docks, fountains, &c. In the province of Pisa he published an edict granting, *without payment, pieces of land, and forests to all who would accept them, on condition of reclaiming the soil, and carrying on every operation to render it fruitful, and to expel malaria.* He granted many indul-

gences to foreigners settling there, such as exemptions from duty and right of free trade.

" In somma non tralasciò alcuna cosa per ridurre all' antico stato quella desolata Provincia."

I may remark the labours of Leopold to have waste lands reclaimed, and so their foul exhalations expelled, were constant and successful.

Monopolies in the sale of brandy and liquors were now abolished. It appears the Medici granted monopolies of almost every article in life, and by the moneys thus squeezed from the people, bought pictures, and got a character for being patrons of the fine arts. Leopold's noble task was to correct all the mischief these polite oppressors had worked to their country.

We now arrive at one of Leopold's most remarkable edicts, that enacting *a law of Mortmain* in forty-two clauses, incapacitating from acquiring lands all public bodies, colleges, universities of ecclesiastics, and laymen; and all those persons who must necessarily be represented by trustees or administrators. I would pause here one instant to point attention to the fact that this great legislator did not, Roman Catholic as he was, believe he could raise Tuscany from misery to prosperity, or preserve it from the exactions of the grasping fraternities of the Church without a law wholly preventing these bodies from acquiring fixed property in the State. Yet are there men in this, supposed to be more enlightened, age who would abolish our law of Mortmain and re-establish the convents and monasteries which once overspread and disgraced the kingdom. Leopold next organised a system of mercantile arbitrations in Leghorn, and formed a law affecting the import and export of tobacco. He then approached Church

reform, a delicate ground, and swept away nine useless churches, distributing their congregations in neighbouring parishes, and assigning their scattered revenues to one church, which he made respectable.

PART II.

When I came to this part of the life of Leopold, I comprehended why the book would be interdicted in Rome. This law of Mortmain, and abolishing of useless churches would make a sweeping reform in the Papal states.

1770.—Our active sovereign again visits the Maremma, — oversees the improvements, departs for Vienna, and on his return by Verona was entertained with a bull-fight. The reforms of this year related to the suppression of various boards, superintending the different trades, establishing instead one chamber of commerce, arts, and manufactures, and to the passing of further regulations to ensure free trade in cloth and light articles of apparel. The public debt was diminished, and monastic prisons were abolished. I observe Leopold condescends now to accomplish something for the museums, and it was worthy of him,— viz., the acquisition and removal from the Villa de Medici in Rome, of the famous Greek group of statues, known by the name of the Niobe, to Florence. The traveller remembers well the Niobe.

Our chronicler begins the year 1771 by the observation that every person must exclaim that the life of Leopold was one of daily labour for the improvement of his subjects, and amelioration of the State: therefore he deemed it right to see in person every thing accomplished which he originated. It was now ordained for the cultivation of science and learning that two libraries

in Florence should be united into a large one, and kept daily open to the public. Leopold then wisely encouraged the plantation of mulberries—repealed the tax on sale of cattle—regulated the notaries, laid the legal impositions on newly built houses, and abolished the duty on the transport of oil from one district to another.

1772.—Again our indefatigable reformer visits the Maremma district—*reclamation of waste lands proceeds rapidly, and with it the improvement of the climate, the resources and habits of the people.* It seems in the days of the Medici there were numerous court festivals and spectacles. Leopold reduced these silly exhibitions to *three*, partaking of a sacred character:—New Year's day, Easter day, St. John's day. There had been a monopoly of fish granted by the Medici; this was now swept away, and the duty on all substances useful for tanning leather reduced. The whole population were, by a new law, allowed to hunt and fish in assigned districts. So much for Leopold's game laws.

1773.—The Maremma is again visited, and on December 19th, another son was born to this noble-hearted prince.

We have now arrived at one of the most important measures in Leopold's life, the *suppression of the Jesuits.* The details of this matter are thus briefly given by our court chronicler. A memorable event happened in this year: The suppression of the famous company of the Jesuits, so long and so warmly accused and defended. The brief, emanating from Clement XIV., was dispatched to every court in Europe. The Pontifical decision was instantly acted on in Florence. The brief, by command of Leopold, was immediately

read by the Archbishop to the college of Jesuits, and the society was forthwith suppressed throughout Tuscany. The government took possession of all their property; twenty scudi were paid to each brother to enable him to purchase a new habit befitting the secular priesthood; a monthly provision was assigned to him; and as Leopold desired to appropriate nothing to the treasury which ought fairly devolve on another, by proclamation, two months were allowed to all individuals to establish, before a supreme magistrate, their title, if any such they could shew, to the immovable property of the suppressed order. Be it remembered that in the best governed Roman Catholic country in Italy, (owing to the principles of Leopold,) the Jesuits have never since been permitted to set their feet; the boundary between the Papal and Tuscan territory no Jesuit dare cross.

When I inquired from a Tuscan gentleman the reason for excluding the Jesuits at present, he simply answered, "we could not get on with them in this country." Gambling was next put down; burials were regulated by edict; the bodies of deceased persons were to be deposited in their peculiar parish cemetery; but each individual could appoint his mode of interment, by act in his life or by his last will. In 1774 a curious law was passed, that all homicides, treasons, assassinations, and other crimes of violence, burnings, &c., should be punished by the tribunals within the limited space of ten years from the commission of the crime. This, it will be remarked, was a law of limitation in criminal causes, a subject on which observation is made in considering the Tuscan code.

By another edict the right was granted to every

commune in the Florentine district, to manage their local affairs through their respective magistrates and administrators, without any subordination to the government in Florence. This was, in effect, municipal reform on a liberal scale.

1775.—Police offices are set up in each quarter of the city, and a day and night watch established; and as Leopold discovered that parents sacrificed the happiness of their children to get rid of them, he ordained that girls should not be placed in the public schools till ten years of age, and that they should not be clothed in the dress of any convent before twenty, and *not professed until liberated from the convent for six months*, and even then not until after strict examination to ascertain their real inclination. Men were not to be admitted into monasteries before the age of twenty-four; and the portion of the nuns was not to exceed twenty-five crowns. Ecclesiastical tithes were next abolished, and the taxes equalized on all colleges, convents, and individuals. Several religious houses were suppressed.

1776.—All the royal patrimonies were assimilated to the ordinary law. The whole province of Pisa had next its municipal affairs regulated by edict. A concordat was made with Pius VI, whereby various pensions heretofore paid to episcopal and parish churches were abolished, with the exception of two, each priest receiving an annual income of not less than 100 scudi. Several convents were suppressed.

Leopold now commanded the bishops not to permit monks to preach or confess, which duties were to be performed by the secular priests.

1777.—The Duke of Gloucester visited Leopold, and was received with great honour. Fees on pass-

ports and bribes were abolished; buildings outside the city walls were encouraged. The criminal courts were simplified; many useless tribunals suppressed; the supreme criminal-court made to consist of one auditor, three assessors, and one chancellor. Personal executions for debts under thirty lire were interdicted.

Concerning matters of ecclesiastical discipline, the law relating to the dead should first be stated. No burial was to take place until twenty-four hours elapsed from the moment of death; no dissection was to take place during that interval; it was ordained that the body should be carried covered to the church, and not even there exposed, but kept covered, and all the funeral functions performed with a single pall or bier.

This reform was to repress the vain parade of funerals in Florence; and at the same time check the custom of exposing the sad remains of mortality to the vulgar gaze.

From the profession of the novices of the Coservatorio were taken away all the pomp, forms, and ceremonies, *and it was ordained that a civil judge should be present at the examination of the novice.* Leopold would appear to me to have dwelt in a nunnery, he had so clear a perception of the impositions practised upon female inexperience.

Confessors of convents were interdicted from making discourses, sermons, or heated appeals from the altars, or to the communicants.

A foreigner who wished to be admitted a nun in Tuscany was required to pay double for her entrance, and all foreign priests were interdicted from exercise of cure of souls. Thus no emissary from Rome could ever preach in Florence, an exclusion the law still adheres to. Lastly, by circular of the secretary of

state, Leopold commanded that no *exequatur* should be given to any dispensation from Rome presuming to release the clergy from canonicals to qualify them for preferments. So ended the legislation for this year. There is nothing more admirable in the character of Leopold than the cool determination with which he curbed the authority of the Church of Rome in his dominions, and the firmness by which he repressed the monastic orders, which, under the last of the Medici, like locusts, overspread and exhausted the country.

1778.—Permission was granted to all persons to sell stamps. Inn-keepers were allowed to have another trade at the same time. An edict abolished small taxes in Arezzo, Volterra, and Radicofani, &c.; a law declared where proceedings might be taken *personally* against failing debtors on bills of exchange. The Post-office system was reformed; weights and measures were regulated; boards of health were reformed; restraints on the alienation of personal chattels were removed; as also on the purchase or sale of wine; a perfectly free trade in this article of commerce was established. To facilitate those who wished to gain employments in the administration of justice, there was established in Florence a College of Jurisprudence for criminal practice, with privileges for its students, equal to those enjoyed by the University of Pisa.

The manufacture of silk was extended by Leopold into all parts of the State.

Four physicians were appointed, one in each quarter of the city, to attend the sick in all cases gratuitously.

The subjects of Tuscany were prohibited engaging in shops and manufactories in other countries, and this strange interdict was established.

"Rinovò le pene imposte dalle leggi proibenti il commèrcio carnale degli Ebrei con donne Cristiane, e di Cristiani con donne Ebree."

The Society *della Misericordia* was exempt from the law of mortmain, and it was ordained that all acts and proceedings of ecclesiastical tribunals should be sanctioned by the assent and vote of a secular assessor, *and that church censures should be submitted to the State for its approval.*

The government required an account of all religious communities subjected to the temporal authority of bishops; ordained that all parish priests should have a respectable income; and required an accurate account of all monies remitted by the convents to Rome. The confessors, directors, governors, and preachers of monasteries of nuns, were prohibited accepting any gift in money or kind. The sustenance for deserted girls was increased. Some convents were abolished, and annuities granted to the monks. Finally, Leopold enacted that the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts should be submitted to their respective diocesans, and that all causes relating to ecclesiastics should require the fiat of the vicar delegate. I observe throughout the reign of this remarkable sovereign there is nothing more evident than his anxiety (although himself a Roman Catholic) to subject all ecclesiastical authorities to the civil tribunals and government: and it certainly does not appear possible to govern a kingdom well upon any other principle.

1779.—An office was established for the preservation of public archives. One questionable law, I observe, was passed by Leopold, viz., the interdicting a certain class of nobility from marrying with women of inferior birth. Prisoners for debt were separated from the gaols of criminals. Stage performances were regulated, schools

of medicine reformed. A circular letter was dispatched by the secretary of state, commanding the archbishops and bishops that, in their respective courts, not they, but laymen, should act as chancellors, and requiring a specification of all monasteries in and around Florence, and of the entering and leaving of each nun. All sentences of excommunication were prohibited unless sanctioned by *the royal exequatur*. Monks were commanded to assist the parish priests in their labours through the country; the forms of proceeding in criminal causes ecclesiastical were prescribed, and the limits between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction were *fixed with precision*. A catechism for schools was framed, and the superior convents were forced to teach a school—reading, and writing, and arithmetic.

1780.—Remaining monopolies were abolished—various administrative reforms were effected, and woollen manufactures encouraged—a new canal was conducted through the Real di Chiana, whereby the cultivation of barren ground was increased and malaria expelled. The military force was reorganized—Leopold having perfect confidence in the affection of his subjects, wished to repose in them the charge of the public safety; in this view *he disbanded the whole garrison and artillery corps of Florence and other troops*, and organized in their stead four companies of civilians to whom he granted privileges. The like was effected in Pisa, and consequently the war department in the State was suppressed. I may stop to express my astonishment at the boldness of this reformation—a thing unequalled in the history of Europe. A sovereign dispensing with all standing armies, and confiding the defence—nay, the existence of his government—to the protection of those for whose benefit it existed; but Leopold was conscious

of the exalted motives which governed his conduct, and felt he might confide in the affections of his people. The year was concluded by a warning address to all bishops and abbots, that they should interdict priests and monks from frequenting *cafés*, theatres, billiard rooms, taverns, and worse places. Then was suppressed the monastery of St. Agati. A school of theology in Leghorn was established, and a course of anatomical demonstrations in Florence; and the professor of anatomy appointed was the illustrious Lorenzo Nannoni, one of the luminaries of the age.

We now arrive at the third book of the life of Leopold. Here our author indulges in a few observations:—

"If," he writes, "much has been said, much remains still to say concerning the wise government of Leopold in Tuscany. The policy of Leopold may be expressed in three words, '*Abolì, soppressè, riformò.*' He was a genius which, shaking off the yoke of prejudice and of custom, wearied himself, and, as it were, sacrificed his life on the altar of the State, for the advantage of his people. Assuming the government of Tuscany, he beheld before him a terrible famine which threatened the ruin of his people. He opposed to it his royal right hand, and the impious monster fled; he opened the treasury of his benevolence, and, by his generous munificence, made fruits to spring up from a barren soil. But the wants of a kingdom are not confined to a season—they are continuous. Leopold comprehended great principles; not content with having repulsed a famine, he found means whereby the poor might have in him a perpetual fountain of living water. Manufactories, public works, the useful arts, the refitting of buildings, the opening of new roads, the construction of churches, villas, towns, engaged numerous hands in maintaining their beloved families; and, on the other part, they added ornament, beauty, and splendour to Tus-

cany. This garden of Italy, then infected in *la Provincia inferiore di Siena*, from stagnant and putrid water, was made fertile by the labours of people directed by his practical wisdom. Commerce, the arts, manufactures, had been in a state of languor. Wealth succeeded that stagnation, and, if all hearts could have been united to sustain and execute the just ideas of the sovereign, the prospect would have been fairer of realizing his great plans, so useful and indispensable for a State. Education had ever been desired by Leopold, wherefore he extended it throughout the duchy. Afflicted humanity he cared for; therefore he established well conducted hospitals. Agriculture revived; the country bloomed as a garden. Nor was there a corner in Tuscany in which Leopold did not scatter blessings, releasing the cultivators of the ground from the burdens which oppressed them, *and affording them ample opportunity of trebling the produce of lands poor or heretofore neglected.* And we may say, as to this portion of his labours, that the result has equalled, perhaps surpassed, his royal wishes. Finally, it came naturally to Leopold to reform abuses, to recal his subjects to their real duties, abolish laziness in the followers of the sanctuary, and introduce purity in ecclesiastical discipline. Church reform he attempted. He was a genius and the tender parent of his people; two characters combined in his person, which made him the real hero of his age."

"Here," writes our chronicler, "the pen should cease;" but yet he is constrained, by the method he had prescribed, to record the latter events of Leopold's reign.

It will suffice for my purpose to select matter not before touched on. This interval extends from 1781 to 1790:—

"Leopold, observing with just concern that the vanity of the Tuscan women exceeded all bounds in their dress, ad-

dressed a note to the nobility, beseeching them to induce their wives to give an example to their inferiors, by laying aside costly ornaments. In this affair of dress the reformer failed, the humbler Tuscan women being as fond of gold bracelets and gaudy attire as ever. But Leopold was more successful in his municipal reform—the deceitful council was abolished in Florence, and the ancient magistracy of the republic revived—the community being represented by a body consisting of a Gonfalonier, eleven Priori, and of a general elected council, with the title of Councillors. Leopold evidently meant to qualify his subjects for a full measure of constitutional freedom. I love the civic titles of the commonwealth. Next all ecclesiastical jurisdiction was prevented, unless under the sanction of the government; the bishops were enjoined to yield no obedience to the Pope's legate, and that functionary was stripped of all authority in Tuscany, and reduced to the level of an ordinary ambassador. The Court of Rome resisted this reform, but the Grand-Duke was resolute and prevailed. The great reformer now suppressed more than *fifty convents*. In those which remained, a female was not henceforward allowed to take the veil, till she had reached *thirty years of age*. Inspectors of convents were appointed, their libraries were examined, and the monks were forbidden to read in their refectories any other books *than the sacred scriptures in the vulgar tongue*, and they were bound to study theology in books sanctioned by the government. Priests were submitted to a severe examination, not *in forms*, but in learning, and their income was increased. The most important of all his reforms, however, was that of the *suppression of the Tribunal of the Inquisition* by a masterly edict, which, expounding the reasons of the erection of that tribunal, and the cases in which kings had been obliged to uproot it, enjoined its utter abolition by the plenitude of the sovereign's authority throughout every part of Tuscany. Leopold took possession of all the property, move-

able and immoveable, of the holy office, and suppressed the churches of the hateful inquisitors."

Let it be remembered the Medici established the Inquisition in Tuscany, in recompense for which a Pope created one of that family Grand-Duke. I believe it to be in allusion to Leopold, that this anecdote is related by John Bell. An unhappy youth, imprisoned by the inquisitors, and doomed under their execrable system to the torture, contrived to dispatch a letter to Leopold, acquainting him with his condition. It was late, yet the sovereign, muffling himself, and attended by a few of his retinue, proceeded straight to the prison of the Inquisition. At midnight the sovereign demanded admission, and found the cruel Dominicans about to apply their instruments of torture to the unhappy youth. The persecuting monks were abashed, their instruments of torture seized, their tribunals abolished, and many convents of Dominicans throughout Tuscany suppressed. The Inquisition maintained its horrors in Florence till 1785, and was only extinguished by force. Leopold next commanded all sacred images in churches to be uncovered, and those that were silly or profane to be removed. Priests were stripped of all privileges, and subjected as laymen to the civil tribunals. Lotteries were suppressed (but, unfortunately for the morals of the people, they have again sprung up and flourish), and dissipation, by repressing masques. The prisons were cleansed, speedy trials enforced, and lastly (in the words of our chronicler), the famous edict, which forms a glorious epoch in Leopold's life, was published *containing the criminal code*, received by the Tuscans for their consolation, and being the wonder and amazement of all Europe. The sovereign, comprehending that the existing criminal legislation was too severe, and suitable

only to a barbarous people, reformed the entire system in a laudable spirit of piety and justice. All the articles of this code were wise, just, and equitable—crimes were regarded in their true aspect, and punishments made to correspond to the frailty of human nature. The whole code breathes gentleness and moderation. Judges are reminded of their duty, and the convicted are besought, by the sanctions of religion, to repent—

"*In somma quand' altro fatto non avesse Leopoldo, per questa sola reso si sarebbe immortale.*"

It remains only to add that Leopold succeeded to the empire of Austria, February, 1790, and died in Vienna on the 29th February, 1792, aged forty-four years, nine months, and twenty-four days. Let the chronicler give the character of this great sovereign in his own words:

"Ed ecco terminate le memorie di Leopoldo II. Sovrano il più illuminato fra quanti siano stati a suo tempo—Principe filosofo, che tentò di svellere i pregiudizi, ed il fanatismo, Padre amovevole e benefico, che niente ommise, e nulla tralasciò, per render felici in qualsivoglia aspetto i popoli, e lo stato. Oggetti vasti, e degni per formare degli immortali veraci encomi."

A deserved eulogium, for no praise can be exaggerated when bestowed upon a prince who found his country a desolate wilderness, and left it a blooming garden. Exactly as the system of Leopold was departed from, Tuscany retrograded, and exactly as it was adhered to, Tuscany flourished. Would it not be well for statesmen to study his history, and imitate the glorious labours of his life. They might learn herein how to make a country great and a people happy. Well

would it be for one island in the British Empire were it ruled in the spirit of Leopold's councils, by a minister who had capacity to conceive and power to execute *his* comprehensive schemes of practical benevolence and wisdom. I have but to add, the traveller will not often meet with pictures or statues of this great man in the country he redeemed and saved. The reason is given in the history of his life. When the criminal code was enacted, the Florentine people besought permission to erect a grand equestrian statue to their benefactor; this honour Leopold refused, declaring he would greatly prefer some work of public utility to a useless expense, ministering only to vanity and ostentation. This modesty, so characteristic of true greatness, made me the more desirous to adorn these pages with an engraving of Leopold the reformer, whose illustrious actions have immortalized his name.*

* I felt curious to discover who prompted the ecclesiastical reforms of Leopold—that person was Scipio de Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato; the life of this prelate was published in Brussels, in 1825, by De Potter, in the French. It is drawn from a collection of papers in the archives of the Ricci family, at Florence, and a "Biography of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia." This pious Roman Catholic prelate lived till the year 1810; and although a firm and devout believer in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, felt, after long and intimate knowledge of the Court of Rome—the Jesuits and the monastic institutions of Tuscany, it was his duty to denounce them to his sovereign. The inquiry he conducted, led to the discovery of so many abuses and abominations in the convents and monasteries through Tuscany, that Leopold, aided by his bishop, resolved to abolish many, and reform the rest. This he effected, although with difficulty. See a review of the "Life of Ricci," in the 4th number of the "Theological Review," published in September, 1826.

CHAPTER XIX.

Criminal Justice of Tuscany.—The Progress of Etruria, Rome, Egypt, and Greece towards a System of Judicial Procedure.—Family Justice in Imperial Rome. — The first secret Trial under Claudius.—Feudal System and Baronial Justice.—Jurisprudence of Middle Ages.—Tuscan Criminal Justice.—Origin of Inquisition.—That Tribunal as it existed in Florence, described.—Justice under the Medici.—Beccaria on the Laws of England.—Reforms of Leopold.*

THE English are apt to look down with haughty contempt upon the legal systems of continental countries, and more especially in reference to their codes of criminal law.

Unquestionably the people of England may feel a laudable pride in the administration of their criminal justice. I believe it to be infinitely purer than that of any other European kingdom. But it is deeply to be regretted that England does not possess that blessing prized by civilized nations,—a criminal code, scientifically prepared, methodically arranged, with correct definitions and accurate divisions. We might profit by what the genius of Leopold or Napoleon has accomplished, and learn to systematize scattered and incoherent dicta. Let us hope something may be effected beyond the manufacture of a dull compilation. Saith the enlightened

* "The Criminal Justice of Tuscany according to the Reform of Leopold, in 1838, with Remarks Theoretical and Practical, by Agostino Ademollo." In five books.

author whose book is now before me, "He who loves not the laws of his country, loves not the country itself;" and the more fervent his attachment, the more earnest ought his anxiety be to make those laws worthy a free and great nation. My attention was naturally drawn to the consideration of the Tuscan criminal code, and I have derived instruction and entertainment from the learned and copious work, the title of which is prefixed to the present chapter. As this book contains nearly six hundred pages, it will not be possible to give a full analysis of its contents; but I can, with convenient brevity, describe how it has been prepared, explain its order, and touch on some principal points of that celebrated Tuscan code, which gave a noble precedent to the other nations of Europe, and which in a greater or less measure most of them have since followed. Moreover, the civilization of a country is properly to be judged of by its laws, rather than by its cultivation of arts, which polish the surface of society, but penetrate no further. My legal brethren, also, may relish a concise account of the work of an eminent continental jurist. Signor Ademollo mentions twenty-nine famous authors, whose writings have assisted his labours, and amongst them are the names of Pothier, Montesquieu, Beccaria, Bentham. The writer commences with a sound exposition of what he calls *civil liberty*:—

"The terror of the wicked ought to be combined with the security of the innocent in criminal legislation, if it is sought, as it should be, to guarantee the tranquillity of the people. They should understand the danger to which that person is exposed who presumes to disturb it; they ought to live under the protection of the laws; this consciousness, this tranquillity, called *civil liberty*, is the only and true liberty which can be reconciled with the social state."

Our author then comments on the criminal justice of the Etruscans, of the Romans, and on the feudal system of the Middle Ages. This chapter is an interesting historical disquisition on the gradual progress of criminal procedure, from the sudden vengeance of barbarous ignorance to the cautious forms of regulated freedom. Reason is first enlightened, and then becomes sophistical and subtle. The Jews, Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans have passed through these gradations. The system under which justice was administered in these several nations is described. The areopagus is derived from the grand Egyptian assembly of judges, whose proceedings were solemn and public. Rome deduced her jurisprudence from Etruria, the richest and most cultivated part of Italy. The prætor, because he was the minister of justice, held the foremost rank amongst the early Romans. He sat in public.—There was soon a distinction established between crimes against the State which were called public, and crimes against the individual which were called private. There prevailed likewise amongst the Romans, family justice, whereby the father of the family exercised jurisdiction over the members of his household. This lasted till after the reign of Nero, as exemplified by the case of Pomponia, recorded by Tacitus. This noble Roman matron, (the wife of that Plautius who triumphed over Great Britain in the reign of Claudius,) was accused of having embraced Christianity, described falsely as a cruel, anti-social superstition. She was tried in her own house by an assembly of relations and friends, without opposition from the government, and acquitted. Separate tribunals necessarily sprung up, and exercised authority over distinct classes of offences. The prætor was assisted by *judges of the fact*, who were publicly

sworn to decide according to the light of their understanding, their conscience, and the truth. Here we have the origin of trial by jury in the wise and sacred institution of the Romans, invented in order that they might be governed by their laws, and not by individual men. The accused was acquitted or condemned or the prætor pronounced *Non liquet*, in which last case better proof might be adduced within the time prescribed by the judge.

The administration of justice was corrupted when the republic fell,—it became *secret*. One of the first examples of a private trial was that of Valerius Asiaticus, who becoming obnoxious to the wicked Messalina, because he possessed the magnificent gardens of Lucullus, was seized and dragged before the stupid, cruel, Emperor Claudius, who proceeded to try this venerable Roman in the chamber of his palace. The pretended crime was sedition. The accused demanded proof; a false witness came, who being required to identify Valerius, touched with a rod a different person, and repeated his error. By a sound logic Claudius considered the crime established, and as a mark of clemency allowed the senator to choose his mode of death. We have here the origin of that abominable invention the Inquisition. On the ruins of the noble system of Roman jurisprudence arose the feudal system. To the eloquence of Cicero succeeded the absurd and bloody experiments of the boiling water, heated iron, and the sword. Baronial justice, by degrees, became more formal. In the tenth century a school of civil jurisprudence was opened in Ravenna. Popes and Bishops encouraged regularity of procedure and the maxims of equity, and exercised a wholesome influence upon the European population, immersed in ignorance.

PART THE SECOND OF THE FIRST BOOK.

This division of the work contains an historical account of the criminal justice of Tuscany, from the tenth century to the epoch of its royal government. I may dispatch this chapter briefly, as the subject is elsewhere touched on in the present volume. Florence was to Etruria, politically considered, what Rome had been in Italy. A summary is given of the stormy history of the republic. Secret tribunals thus originated. The Popes, to persecute heretics, established the Holy Office, of which, says our author,

"I speak with horror, because it confirmed, by its religious example, the secresy and usurpations of secular tribunals, or was for them a model to imitate."

He then, in section 100, thus writes:—

"The Grand-Duke Leopold suppressed it on the 5th July, 1785, because he had discovered that the laws of that tribunal were of unusual severity, and that irregularities and usurpations by the inquisitors were not rare. Amongst the most censurable practices committed by these ecclesiastical magistrates were the following: — Penitence exacted for secret offences with the utmost publicity; the punishment of secret errors against religious faith, *with a slow and cruel death in strict imprisonment*, or with the confiscation of goods to the profit of those who condemned the accused, the exercise of an authority contrary to Christian mildness, coveted as their privilege by a religious corporation, who professed by their order the pure life of Christian priests. The contrast is drawn between the uncorrupt ages of the church, in which charity and reason led back to the bosom of the faith whosoever strayed, and the modern example of ministers of peace, who, by violence, defended the faith, and hardened the erring by the cruelty of their treatment.

"Amongst their legal forms of unusual rigour more to be condemned than any others, were these:—That to a secret and chamber process, compiled by the participators in the confiscation or fine, they ascribed the virtue of a magisterial information, which sanctioned the concoction of this process on the faith of one witness only, never confronted with the accused for exception, or else on the faith of words articulated in the midst of torture of the muscles and laceration of the limbs, or finally on the suggestions of a pretended supernatural agency played off by the persecutors to strike terror into those examined—these things warranted the proceeding as if facts had been proved against the accused, who, in theory was present, because in prison; but, in substance, was considered as contumacious and absent, for he was not admitted to make any proof contrary to the result of the process, that punished even the complaint of friends and relatives as evidence of secret conspiracy with the guilty principal—that, finally, authorized false and subtle interpretations of acts, so as to extend the jurisdiction of these tribunals, by declaring cases against faith even the unobservance of forms purely ceremonial."

The above is the description given of the tribunal of the Inquisition by a Roman Catholic jurist, as it existed, to a late period, in the fair city of Florence. I request the reader to recollect the account given of the mode of procedure by the Holy Office, in order to compare it, hereafter, with the code of laws flourishing in Rome under Pope Gregory. In my sketch of the Medici, I frequently refer to the historical portion of this learned treatise, as descriptive of their method of administering justice. The readers of that sketch will comprehend this sentence from Part III.:—

"Dopo che la Capitolazione del 1530 aperse le porte di Firenze alle falangi Imperiali, i tribunali criminali si cam-

biarono in commissioni militari e furono troncate molte illustri teste a comodo dei Medici per trofeo della loro vittoria."

It is not possible to read, without indignation, this chapter, detailing the horrible crimes practised in Italy, and especially in Florence, by the Medici, under the mask of administering justice, down to the latter end of the eighteenth century. From what I have myself witnessed, I can thoroughly understand the description:—

"When the accused appeared before the judge, he believed he saw before him his accuser, and not his judge. The fierceness of his countenance, the fury which glared in his eyes, the bitterness of his gestures, and his threats, compelled the prisoner to read by anticipation in the bent eyebrows of his judge the decree of his condemnation."

Menaces and inducements were held out, to prevail on the accused to *confess;* if he refused, the torture was applied, the several gradations of which, the author states he has described in his little work entitled "*Beatrice Cenci, storia del secolo XVI.*"

I may here remark, the absurdity of applying the torture, as a means of discovering truth, is admirably demonstrated by Beccaria, in a few pages of his incomparable essay, "*Dei Delitti e Delle Pene.*" It was with no ordinary pleasure I read the following just tribute of respect paid to the noble principles of our English law, in abjuring the system of torture; the passage is eloquent, as well as just.

"Queste verità sono state conosciute dai Romani Legislatori, presso i quali non trovasi usata alcuna tortura, che su i soli schiavi, ai quali era tolta ogni personalità: queste dall' Inghilterra; nazione, in cui la gloria delle lettere, la supe-

riorità del commercio, e delle ricchezze, e percio della potenza, e gli esempj di virtù, e di coraggio, non ci lasciano dubitare della bontà delle leggi."

We have arrived at the glorious epoch in the history of Tuscany, of Leopold's government. His reform in the criminal law was, in 1785, a great work. There was, also, a valuable reform introduced in 1838, by the present sovereign; the precedent for this amendment was the Code Napoleon, "which," writes our author, "was for us a lamp of shining light."

The true meaning of the word *inquisition* is now traced from the Latin word *quærere*, thence is derived the word *inquirere*, that is to say, *intus quærere*, to penetrate hidden things, as Dante expresses it,—

"Mi mise dentro alle segrete cose."

and the right use of the *inquisition* is shewn to be, by the present Tuscan code, what we understand as a preliminary magisterial investigation, the basis of further inquiry, but not matter of condemnation, as perversely employed by the ecclesiastical inquisitors. We have arrived at the end of Book the First.

PART II.

Objects of Criminal Jurisprudence. — The true Police System explained. — Proportion between Crime and Punishment. — Statute of Limitations, in Criminal Cases.—Its Reasonableness considered.— Object of Criminal Justice.—Simplicity of Tuscan Procedure contrasted with that of England.—Principle on which Judges should be selected, and how they should discharge their Duties.

In his second book, the learned author specifies three objects as fixing the attention of this science of

criminal jurisprudence; 1st. The security of the social state, which embraces that of the political and civil establishment; 2nd. the security of the citizen in face of the law; 3rd. the security of the citizen in face of the judges entrusted with the execution of the law.

Again, if crimes can be repressed by preventive means, the cognizance of these means interest visibly this science. These means have ever been regarded in two great classes; 1st. Means not coercive, and 2nd. Means coercive. The first, *mezzi non coattivi*, are those directed to remove, so far as possible, civilized man from all those temptations which might lead him into crime; to prevent crime by removing the necessity or the inclination for committing it. This is *the science of police, or of good government.*

The second, *mezzi coattivi*, relate, 1st. To those actions which should be prohibited to the citizen; 2nd. As to the degree of severity which should be employed against him who commits or permits the forbidden action; 3rd. The method to be pursued, so that he who has committed a criminal action may be punished with that precise degree of severity which, to the particular crime, has been assigned by the law. Thus have we the two grand objects of criminal jurisprudence, with their subdivisions.

Remarks on crime and on punishment follow. The difficulty of all legislation to proportion exactly the punishment to the crime is next considered; his text is the principle which Beccaria derives from Montesquieu, that all punishment not derived from absolute necessity is tyranny. I may observe, Beccaria, in his sixth chapter, sums up the argument in a few words:—

"It will suffice to the wise legislator to lay down the principal points, not deranging the order of crimes nor assign-

ing to offences of the lowest degree the severest punishment. If it were possible to have a rule exact and universal of punishment and of crimes, we should have a probable and universal measure of the degrees of tyranny and of liberty—of the depth of humanity or of wickedness of the different nations."

We now arrive at the consideration of the punishment to be inflicted under the law. Touching this subject of punishment, the Tuscan code of the great Leopold, sections 114 and 115, establishes a law of limitations. All violent crimes are to be prosecuted within ten years from their being attempted or committed, and not after; lesser offences within five years; judicial transgressions within one year after the deposition from his office of the minister of justice. But, although criminal proceedings may not be adopted after the period specified for punishment, yet the judges may verify the crime, and entertain a proceeding for civil *reparation* to the party injured.

This limitation is founded on the principle, that the long lapse of time cancels from the human mind the idea of the crime, and obliterates the shock given to the subjects of the State. The object of the law is twofold, to secure a guarantee for the sincerity of the accusation, and to prevent a delay which might destroy alike the proofs of guilt or innocence. Undoubtedly, there is much reason in this law, so contrary to ours. It is more humane, and not less repugnant to reason. The crime against society may be atoned by a long life of repentance; but the best principle on which to rest the Tuscan law is the difficulty in which, after a long period, the accused might be placed, from the absence or loss of the evidence essential to prove his evidence. In our system, should a prosecutor delay his infor-

mation twenty years, although competent at any time previously to make it, the long concealment would affect the credit of his statement; in Tuscany, the prosecution, in such a case, would be impossible, and it is very doubtful whether the limitation fixed by Leopold would not be the wiser rule.

The author next explains the object of criminal justice, to avert punishment from the innocent and inflict it on the guilty.

The proceedings consequent on the crime are then considered, and, so far as they relate to public punishment for the offence against society, they are entrusted to functionaries of the State, clothed with authority to prosecute the accusation. The civil proceedings, which claim compensation for a private injury, are taken by the individual; but, as both these actions result from the one fact, and may each be prosecuted at the same time, in order not to multiply judicial forms and courts, it is found useful to extend the authority of the criminal judges, and enable them, at the same time that they decide on the public prosecution, to determine the civil action.

This is rational in principle. Thus, in our law, a person assaulted must indict criminally the wrongdoer to punish him, and, if he seeks civil compensation, must bring an action for damages before another tribunal. In Tuscany the whole business is settled at the same moment, and by one tribunal. Nor can I comprehend in reason why a jury empanelled to decide if the assault has been committed in fact, should not have power, having heard the circumstances, to assess compensation to the injured party, while they convict the guilty. In the latter case, no doubt the prosecutor might be his own witness, and so gain a pecuniary

benefit from his evidence; but in reason, if his evidence be faithworthy to convict the accused, why should it not be sufficient to warrant the award of a just measure of compensation? Is our complicated system superior in the eye of reason?

The fourth part contains some valuable remarks on the judicial power. With truth the Florentine jurist asserts that when judges are chosen from any other qualification than elevated talents, virtuous character, and austere probity, combined with learning, the people will despise the law which may be unworthily administered. He commends the habit of the English judges, sitting on a lofty bench, and pronouncing their decisions in a loud voice; but the foreign advocate lauds perhaps too highly the mode in which our judges are selected. I hope all the superior judges of the empire deserve his encomium, viz. "that laying aside pride, vanity, egotism, with the utmost mildness and patience they deliver decisions full of reason and dignity."

The different criminal tribunals are then described. The general division is into inferior or police tribunals, and into the superior courts already mentioned.

PART III.

Police Administration of Tuscany explained.—Law Officers.—A Crown Prosecution in Florence.—How conducted.—And a Crown Brief how prepared.—The mode of Arrest and Bail.—Reflections.

The third book contains a commentary on police authority. The word *police* he derives from a Greek word, signifying *amministrazione della citta.* The right understanding and execution of the important

duties included under the word *police* would be a prodigious improvement in our social system. They relate to things inanimate, to the brute creation, to the afflicted from insanity or intoxication, to the sanitory condition of the people, directing some things, repressing others, watching the health, promoting the happiness, and guarding the morals of the people. All the foregoing matters refer to administrative police; but there is also a police judicial tribunal, and to it belongs the care of taking all preliminary informations, and securing the accused; the administration is under the control of *il Regio Procuratore*. No doubt a prosecution in Tuscany is prepared in a very different fashion from the incautious manner in which such proceedings are conducted with us. A close attention is paid to the case by appointed ministers of justice, *from the first moment the crime has been committed down to the trial*. The law-officers are next described, of whom the chief in Tuscany is *il Regio Procuratore Generale*; his duties are detailed, and qualifications so varied and splendid are required for the office in Florence, that I greatly fear a competent person could scarce be found for such a post in our islands. All the inferior officers of justice are named and their several duties specified. The mode in which the proceedings preliminary to the trial are to be conducted, and the information taken and evidence collected, is described; and the regulations prescribed for this most important branch of the criminal justice of a civilized country are methodical and admirable. No arrest (save in cases *di flagrante delitto*) can be made without a written warrant, which is to be shewn to the accused, and a copy given on request. Without a warrant the gaoler cannot receive a prisoner. The accused can only be confined in the

cases prescribed by law, and never as a means of extorting evidence against him.

The *Judge of Instruction* now begins his labours, to digest all the preliminary information, and systematize everything bearing on the *material fact of the crime.* Thus such a brief is prepared for the crown prosecutor as few counsel in our country ever receives. The most scrupulous exactness is enjoined as to the identification of the person accused. We have now another functionary, called the *Criminal Notary*, in action. His duty consists in the careful compilation of the *process*, that is, the indictment, only of a much more full nature than ours. This officer, responsible for the duty of compiling the *process*, is commanded by the code to be laborious and careful, and he is made responsible for breach of duty. The *process*, neatly corrected and paged, is now forwarded to *il Regio Procuratore*, and the accused is apprized of this fact, and then must be added any facts or statements the prisoner may think fit or wish to make, and the whole in a complete form must be forwarded to the tribunal of the *first instance.*

Now the *evidence* for the public trial must be got up by the officer named *Judge of Instruction*, and the rules are given divided into six heads. He is to apply his care, 1st, to the original relation of the crime (*processi verball*); 2nd, to the time and inspection of the place, and instruments, &c. of the crime; 3rd, to the examination of the witnesses; 4th, to a careful analysis and examination of the documents; 5th, to the statements of the prisoner; 6th, to the identification of the accused. This officer has express power given by the code to summon all persons before him, and oblige them to declare what they know of the case. If witnesses voluntarily appear before him, he must make a note of that

fact in taking down their statement. With respect to the mode of identification, this officer must introduce the accused amidst several other persons into an apartment, and the accuser is called upon then to identify the person he prosecutes; his mode of doing which must be carefully noted by the official in the process. This *Judge of Instruction* is authorized by law to issue his warrant against the accused, not only to appear before him for interrogation, but also to secure his person, when not before done, for future trial. The cases are serious in which imprisonment before trial is warranted. Immediately on the arrest being made, a brief preliminary examination is had to ascertain that a wrong person has not been seized, and a formal warrant must now be produced. A rational system of bail is established, applicable to cases not infamous. The celebrated Habeas Corpus Act of England is explained. In awarding punishment, the time during which the accused may have been imprisoned previous to the trial is taken into account.

Before we enter upon the subject of the fourth Book, I may remark that the pains taken to prepare the case for trial, and ensure the punishment of guilt, far exceed the system prevailing in England—most certainly in Ireland. We have excellent laws, but the guilty constantly escape the punishment of their crimes, by the careless, and hasty manner in which the preliminary inquiries and preparations for the trial are made. The whole system of crown prosecutions might, on the Tuscan principle, be thoroughly reformed; and if coercive laws are to be shunned, the existing laws should be carefully and vigorously enforced. But more perhaps depends in the *preparation* for the trial, than in the mode of conducting it in court. In Tuscany, both departments of the public business in the administration

of criminal justice, are filled by officers capable and responsible; and the result is that crime, which is not scanty, is punished with certainty, although the code is the most humane and gentle in Europe. Death is very seldom inflicted. Moderate punishments, applied with certainty, are supposed to be sufficiently efficacious in the repression of serious crime.

PART IV.

Camera di Accuse.—Public Trial.—Camera di Consiglio.—Votes of Judges.—Effect of Difference of Opinion.—English Jury System, is it applicable to Italy?—Exclusion of Evidence by Tuscan Code, bottomed in the Law of Nature.—Its Reasonableness considered.—Punishment of Death still exists.—How —and in what Cases Inflicted.—The Appeal by the Criminal Code.—Crime of Heresy—how punishable in Florence.—Reflexions.—Results of the Tuscan Code exhibited in a Table of Crime.—Suicide rare—why?—Character of Italian Advocates. —Concluding Observations.

The fourth Book explains the administration of the general justice of the country by superior judges, into whose hands the cause has now passed from the police and inferior authorities. The crimes of lesser magnitude are tried before the Court *di quella Istanza.*

Serious crimes are dealt with before *il Tribunale della Corte Regia.* The police authorities have a jurisdiction in trifling cases, where the punishment does not exceed eight days' imprisonment. A curious tribunal now intervenes between the accused and his public trial, named *la Camera di accuse*: before this court neither counsel or parties are heard, but the *whole process* and result of the preliminary inquiries are laid, to decide whether a reasonable cause of trial has been established, and a legal crime has been committed.

Should the court, by a plurality of voices, decide that the case is not sufficient to put the accused on trial, he is instantly liberated. This tribunal is a considerable improvement on our grand jury; it must decide within three days from the receiving of the process. If the law-officer is not satisfied with the decision of *la Camera di accuse*, he may appeal to the Court of Cassation to revise it. We have the case, at last, before the court *di Prima Istanza*. The trial is public; all the witnesses on both sides are in attendance, and the advocate for the prisoner has the last word, after which, the tribunal pronounces judgment, which is to be according to the *moral conviction* of the judge on the merits of the case, as established by legal proof. Absent witnesses are fined; witnesses present, should there be an adjournment, are detained; the oath administered is exactly according to the English form; questions may be suggested by any judge, or by the advocates on either side, but must always be put through the president. The previous examinations are referred to only for the purpose of contradiction. When the court withdraws, *in Camera di consiglio*, to deliberate privately, it cannot separate until final judgment is given. The accused, if acquitted, cannot be tried a second time. Should an equal number of judges declare for a different measure of punishment, the lesser must be inflicted. There is no appeal from this court, by either side, except to the Court of Cassation. This last and highest court established in 1838, by the reform then effected, consists of five judges, a majority of whom decide, and its jurisdiction relates to the right application of the law, all forms, and clashing of jurisdiction, but it does not decide upon the merits in fact. The forms are precise in proceedings for great crimes

before *il Corte Regia.* The accused may select his advocate from amongst the number attached to that court; if he does not, or cannot, an advocate will be assigned to defend him.

In chapter the second of this book, the author discusses the nature of trial by jury, and describes the advantages of our English system, in this respect, and he rejects the idea of its inapplicability to the social state of Tuscany, but concludes by confessing that the necessity for trial by jury depends essentially on the form of the government, and thus a political question arises, inadmissible in his book. The Court of Cassation consists of a president, five councillors, and a chancellor, who registers and preserves the decrees and orders of the court in due form. The order of proof is natural, "*Prius factum, postea a quo factum.*" The code declares the accused is to be considered innocent, till proved guilty, and the judges are enjoined scrupulously to avoid all threats and invectives towards the prisoner. But the president has the right of interrogating the accused; this I consider a grand error, and, from what I have seen in Italy, a mischievous practice; it is either a temptation to falsehood or an instrument of torture. Evidence of informers is received, under nearly similar precautions as in England.

A very interesting subject for consideration arises in considering the propriety of the Tuscan rule, which excludes the evidence of—1st. Parents against their children and children against parents; 2nd. Husband against wife, or the reverse; 3rd. Step-fathers and mothers against their step-children, and the converse; 4th. Fathers-in-law against their sons and daughters-in-law, *if living under the same roof*, and the converse; 5th. Brothers against sisters, and the reverse; 6th.

Relations of an equal degree to that of brother, *if living under the same roof.* The Tuscan jurists rest this portion of their law of evidence on the *law of nature,* which forbids a parent to aid in the destruction of his child, and, they argue, this superior law of nature ought not to be violated by any code of municipal law. They further insist, it was the sacred rule of the civil law, "Parentes et liberi invicem adversus se nec volentes ad testimonium admittendi sunt." This does not appear to be the opinion of Beccaria, in his chapter *dei Testimoni,* but no man who has had the misfortune to hear, in our courts of justice, children swearing against the lives of their parents, will fail to apprehend the reasonableness of the Tuscan code. However, necessity compels our Italian brethren to introduce an exception to their principle of exclusion, which limits materially its application, namely, that relatives, in the degrees specified, may be examined in cases of *serious premeditated crimes, and in all cases of homicide,* if one has injured some other member of the family, *and it be not possible to procure evidence elsewhere.* Whether this practice be not superior to ours is very questionable.

The law of evidence generally is discussed at length and skilfully in this fourth book. The proper behaviour for judges to exhibit in court is dwelt on, and next the task and duty of the advocates who defend accused men are well stated and enforced; *they ought not to break out into philippics against opposite parties or indulge in assertions hurtful to the feelings of others, unless the necessity of their defence imperatively requires it, and in these exceptive cases they should be fortified well with written instructions from their clients.* The distinction between the rhetorical elo-

quence in use in ancient Rome and modern argumentation, is traced to the distinction in the tribunals; in Rome the people—sovereign people—could revoke laws or suspend their execution: a modern judge can only apply it. In Tuscany, the exact punishment awarded by the code must be pronounced—extenuating circumstances are for the sovereign. There is no power of giving a qualified sentence, such as "Not Proven." The deliberations and votes of the judges are secret, the result of the sentence must be given in public.

We now arrive at the provision made by the Tuscan law regarding the punishment of death. This is settled by article 231 of the reformed code of 1838. The punishment of death cannot be inflicted unless by the unanimous vote of the bench. If only the majority concur in the propriety of the capital punishment, then that punishment which is next in the scale to the sentence of death shall be awarded. Thus the capital punishment is preserved in theory, but, as one judge almost always dissents, it is rarely inflicted. However, it has been inflicted within the last few years twice, and the people, by their behaviour, shewed how much they abhorred it. A form of sentence is prescribed and adhered to. An appeal to the sovereign for pardon or mitigation of the sentence, suspends the execution of the sentence.

Book fifth treats of the Court of Appeal to the sovereign, and to the Court of Cassation, as established by the reform of 1838, already described.

Before I conclude the subject, I ought to draw attention to the state of the criminal law in Tuscany, relating to the crime of *heresy*. It certainly is painful to refer to intolerant and abominable doctrines which have survived the Inquisition. But it is highly essential to know accurately what progress has been made in the

happiest part of Italy in the great principles of religious toleration. Who will be so bold as to deny that a searching reform is not here required. A question was put by me to an eminent advocate in Florence in these words :—" What species of liberty, as regards religion, exists in Tuscany—may a Tuscan change his religion and continue to dwell in his native country, and occupy any situation which he may have before held under the government?" The answer is highly interesting :—" The Catholic religion is the *predominant* religion in Tuscany. Preaching against this religion, seeking to sow sects, and to separate the faithful from the church, is a crime which, according to circumstances, may be punished either *with exile or capital punishment*.—(Law of the 5th July, 1782; law of 30th Nov., 1786, article 60; law of 30th Aug., 1795, article 9.) Our legislature, however, includes principally in *heresy*, the disturbance of social order. Hence, with us, there cannot exist presumed heresy for non-observance of religious precepts—nor may the *private opinion* of each individual as regards religion be inquired into. The inquisition being abolished, the precepts of reason come into operation; therefore, not by appearance but by the actions are inward thoughts judged of. Hence a person cannot be reputed a heretic from outward signs *except he obstinately maintains heretical propositions and refuse to submit to the judgment of the Church*. Much less can any civil law be applied to injure the temporal interests of heretics, except it be formally declared *that the person against whom such application of the law is demanded is guilty of heresy*. It is certain, however, that Tuscans born Catholics are not permitted to abjure the Catholic religion and profess another. If this took place, *the criminal punishment*

could not exceed exile. The apostate would be excluded from offices requiring particularly a Roman Catholic; consequently they could not practise the law, or be judges, or wear the religious habit of St. Stephen's. They might, however, fill every other office; but, in civil affairs, the laws of common right relative to heretics would be applicable. Capital punishment prescribed by the law of 1795 appears to be only applicable to *heresiarchs,* a class of people almost imaginary according to our present customs. Therefore the laws are framed rather *in terrorem* than to be executed. In fact, there is no law in Tuscany that punishes *private opinion,* but, at the same time, we have no law that permits a Catholic openly to profess a different religion."

It is manifest this intolerant code has been framed with a view to prevent open dissent, and preserve outwardly an universal conformity with the religion established by the State. But it is equally manifest, should another Savonarola appear to preach what he believed to be scriptural truth, he might, as an heresiarch, be decapitated in the streets of Florence. It would be well to be informed by the casuists of Oxford whether this law of the Italian church be that mild code of ecclesiastical discipline which they desire to substitute for the boundless and blessed religious toleration established amongst us. It is vain and hopeless for any system of temporal or ecclesiastical government to call itself tolerant, whilst it sanctions laws like these; but I entertain a strong conviction that when the laymen of Tuscany obtain the power of freely expressing their thoughts, this remnant of the Inquisition will quickly share the fate of that terrible tribunal.

A picture of the above code would be imperfect without presenting a statement of its results upon the

morals of the people. This I am enabled to give from the work "Della Condizione d'Italia," by Professor Mittermaier of the University of Heidelberg, translated into the Italian. This writer* accurately investigated the effects produced by the code of Leopold upon the morals of the people. He gives the criminal statistics of Tuscany from 1830 to 1838, whence it appears there has been a considerable increase in crime during that period. The number of offences in 1830 being 5,803, and those in 1838 being 7,650. Respecting the character of the offences, the greatest number of homicides *con rapina* in any one year was 5; of premeditated murder 11; of what is called simple voluntary homicide 51; involuntary homicide 36; parricide 4; of murder of wife by husband 5; of murder of husband by wife 1; of poisoning 7; of infanticide 8; of attempted murder 7; of attempted suicide 13; injuries by fire-arms 106; serious wounds 169; of lesser wounds 382; injuries in quarrels 237; horse-stealing 210; of assassination 24; which last occurred in the year 1830. The greatest number of cases of qualified theft in the same year was 1,472; of simple theft, in the year 1838, 3,202; being a regular increase for the last 8 years; of incendiarism 184; of incest 9; of rape 9; of nameless offences 22.

Most undoubtedly the humanity of the code does not appear to have stayed the progress of crime; perhaps this may be ascribed to other causes, such as a

* A curious reason is assigned by this author for the rareness of the crime of suicide in Italy: "Nella Cattolica religione che è la dominante in Italia; cercar pur vuolsi la ragione dei pochi suicidii in quel paese, in le speculazionè e sofisticherie che altrove facilmente guidano alla disperazione, al suicidio, ed alla pazzia, straniere sono all' Italiano."

lamentable want of education amongst the people. The laws seem to be most defective in protecting property. In the course of the period referred to, 10,300 persons were sentenced to fine or imprisonment; 36 to the galleys for life; 958 to the public works for a given period; and 3 were condemned to death, up to 1833. In May, 1840, a prisoner was condemned to death, but the Grand-Duke would not execute the sentence.* Considering that the population of Tuscany is so small, crime exceeds greatly that of an ordinary province in England. I must add, the mode in which the criminals are punished by condemnation to the public works, appears to me to be carried out in a censurable manner. I have seen walking through the streets of Leghorn, to and fro as their labour required, convicts, with the crime of murder printed in large letters on their backs, chains on their legs, and attended by a guard with loaded fire-arms, ready to shoot the convict if he attempted to escape or to resist. This presents a very revolting spectacle to the eyes of the stranger, familiarises the people to the punishment, and lessens its severity with respect to the criminal himself.

* The German professor maintains the new provision of the law of 1838, according to which there must be the unanimous assent of the judges in order to inflict capital punishment, has not produced any prejudicial effect. It deserves to be well considered, however, that the number of deaths by violence in a single year, in Tuscany, appears, from the returns given by this writer, to be very great. The German pronounces a high eulogium on the acquirements and talents of the advocates who practise in many parts of Italy. They combine a knowledge of the theory of jurisprudence with practical skill; their manner captivated the learned professor. "E un piacere seguir l'abile oratore, che rapido sa rilevare il vero punto della questione, intorno il quale la cosa si aggira, e analiticamente sviluppare tutti gli indizii con mirabile sagacita."

CHAPTER XX.

ON RECENT EVENTS IN TUSCANY.

"Reform should be nor violent nor rash."

I HAVE watched the course of political affairs in Tuscany with intense interest. The brave spirit of Italy slumbered; it had not died. Quickened by a movement she did not originate, Tuscany has sprung into political life; Florence caught the national enthusiasm, and asserted her right to the possession of liberties she has long deserved to enjoy.

Leghorn, as might be expected, being a busy commercial town, led in Tuscany the glorious movement, and the objects aimed at by the universal people were gained without the shedding a drop of blood.

I cannot entertain a doubt that the writings of Massimo Azeglio, and especially such a romance as "Nicolo de Lassi," founded on the stirring events of the famous siege of Florence, and breathing the most patriotic sentiments, helped mightily to prepare the public mind in Tuscany for the events which have happened. The prophecy of Azeglio is likely to be fulfilled, and Florence will again become free and happy. A spark kindled the flame of liberty; let us hope it may now burn with a steady, permanent light. But many persons in England have naturally enquired what precisely has been accomplished,—what means the anxiety

to have a National Guard?—What advantage can it be to sober citizens to discharge the irksome duty of the soldier?—what has been secured useful to the cause of good government, and to the diffusion of sound political and religious truth? Judicious questions, which can be satisfactorily answered. In the first place, a bold spirit has been awakened and aroused. The polite Tuscans can be no longer ruled as grown children; they are changed, as by the magic wand of an enchanter, into resolute men. The National Militia has been established beyond the power of the sovereign to break up. This combination teaches self-reliance, and a martial spirit secures union and makes despotism impossible, for the regular army in Tuscany is but a mere handful of men compared with the numbers of the National Guard.

The readers of the previous sketch of Florentine history may recollect it was the grand project of the celebrated Macchiavelli to form a National Militia in Florence. That undoubted patriot felt the liberties, or at least the independence, of his country might have been saved, had the Florentine people arms in their hands, and were they disciplined in military exercises. What would possibly have saved Florence then may probably restore it now. Therefore the citizens of Tuscany knew well their past history and present condition when they *first* demanded the formation of a National Guard, and every hour of its existence must strengthen their power and consolidate their hopes. The Tuscan government, foreseeing to what this reform must lead, endeavoured, in the first instance, to satisfy the people with a mockery instead of a real National Militia. But a burst of popular indignation, as universal as it was heartfelt, compelled the monarch, who

hesitated, to save his influence, perhaps his throne, by a prompt acquiescence with the general feeling. The establishment of the popular force was hailed with acclamations. Fifty thousand armed men watch the conduct of their ruler, and guard the growing liberties of their fellow-citizens, and a common sentiment of patriotism has been evoked, which it will be found impossible to repress.

The next advantage which resulted from this first great gain was the calling of just and enlightened men to the councils of the state. Such ministers as Corsini and Serristori gave a sanction that the practical measures of the government will be in harmony with the new feelings of the people and the genius of the age. For a time no theoretical change was effected in the form of the constitution. The Grand-Duke continued nominally as despotic as the worst of the Medici. The creation of some council of state was spoken of, and the municipal bodies, once so free, afterwards cheated of their influence and utility, were to be restored to something like their ancient vigour. But no permanent system of representation was introduced into the structure of the constitution. A practically free Press, however, sprung up in Florence. The miserable censorship was swept away. Bigoted ecclesiastics were being driven from the seat of power they had usurped, and the voice of the Tuscan people, speaking trumpet-tongued through the Press, burst forth in joyful, animating sounds, exhilarating the hearts of the free and warning the despot that the knell of tyranny has sounded.

I addressed a letter to a friend in Florence, thoroughly acquainted with that place, on the subject of the Press, requesting to be informed exactly what was the extent

of liberty it possessed in political, and more especially in religious matters. The reply lately received was most interesting. "In political affairs," writes my friend, "the Press is as free in Florence as in England." This in itself was an amazing revolution from the state of things existing a few months previously, as described in the former part of this book. Florence now presented a very curious spectacle. An absolute government, with a practically free Press. No parliament or representation of the people, yet an unlimited liberty of opinion.

We had realized the state of things imagined by De Lolme:—

"In short, whoever considers what it is that constitutes the moving principle of what we call great affairs, and the invincible sensibility of man to the opinion of his fellow-creatures, will not hesitate to affirm, that if it were possible for the liberty of the Press to exist in a despotic government, and (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the constitution, this liberty of the Press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the prince."

The effects of this singular condition of political affairs was felt to be most embarrassing to the government, and perilous to the people, because, when excited by impassioned appeals from political writers, the Florentines, having no legitimate channel through which to vent their feelings, were apt to run into mischievous excesses. It would therefore have been an act of consummate wisdom in the government to have created a parliament which, representing fully all respectable classes, would command respect, while it enforced obedience and checked extravagance. This, perhaps, was too much to have expected from a prince accustomed

to absolute power, and perhaps imagining its continuance. However, such a condition of political affairs could not last. It was obvious that the liberty of the press *must* change the Constitution.

And what all expected has come to pass. The Tuscans demanded a representative constitution, which was but reasonable. The revolution in France accelerated the movements of the Grand-Duke, and his advisers convinced him he had no time to lose. Accordingly a form of constitution was promulgated, not too democratic, well adapted to the condition of the country, and to satisfy the wishes of all reasonable men.

Persons having an income from land amounting to 300 lire are electors; professors, magistrates, the clergy, lawyers, notaries, physicians, surgeons, engineers, and knights of the Tuscan orders, are likewise electors. Natives under twenty-five years of age, and foreigners are excluded. The Grand-Duke convokes the electoral colleges; the vote is secret. All electors thirty years of age and upwards, are eligible to be chosen representatives provided they be not senators; the number of deputies is seventy-two.

My opinion is, that the class of Tuscans whom this reform invests with political power, will be found perfectly competent to exercise it wisely and well.

By referring to the chapter on agriculture, and examining the tables of division of landed property and incomes of proprietors, the reader can judge for himself as to the extent of the franchise granted. It is, by comparison, much higher than the political franchise in England. A 10*l.* franchise from land in Tuscany is equal to nearly 30*l.* in England, but it is prudent not to descend too low. Universal suffrage in Italy would be universal madness.

I approve of the extension of the franchise to professional men, irrespective of property, in such a country as Tuscany, where education is limited, and the professional classes rarely possess landed property. This gives to education an useful influence in political affairs. The allusion made by the Grand-Duke in his proclamation to his immortal ancestor, Leopold the Reformer, was graceful and true. The Grand-Duke declares he is but working out the designs of his illustrious progenitor. May he have the courage and wisdom to follow so noble an example.

With respect, however, to religious discussion, concerning which many of my readers may be deeply anxious, I have indeed a delightful fact to communicate. My informant mentions this circumstance:—

"A work on a religious subject, full of sound scriptural doctrine, was sent into the censor, and was sanctioned by the new official, without the alteration of one word."

The book has been printed, of coursé, in the Italian tongue, and is now publicly sold in Florence. This is almost incredible, but I know it to be the fact. Priestly control over the press is of course at an end, or such a publication as I have described would have never seen the light. I forbear to give its name, for obvious reasons; other publications of a like excellent character in the Italian tongue will succeed, and it is hoped an enlightenment on religious subjects may follow. A third edition of "Santa Filomena" will not be published without receiving a reply. I had scarce hoped for so astonishing a change as this, in so brief a space of time, in the discussion of religious subjects. Further, a proclamation has been issued by the government against the publication of superstitious books, evidently

aimed at the suppression of the monstrous fictions heretofore published, and under the sanction of certain ecclesiastics, of which I have given a sample.

Thus the country of Savonarola may again awaken to a consciousness of the force of religious truth, and thus *must* a certain degree, at least, of spiritual enlightenment follow from exercising the right of expressing free opinions. Let us hope the formidable power of the press may be wisely devoted towards promoting the happiness and real improvement of the people; and to aid in so good a work, I would suggest to those interested in the regeneration of Italy, the republication, in a convenient shape, of, *first*, "The Life of Leopold the Reformer;" his ideas of reform were not only vast and splendid, but he has shewn how the noble work may be accomplished. The Italian reformers of the present day have but to carry out the plans of Leopold with resolution, and a great part of their labours will be performed. The "Life of Leopold," in Italian, is a scarce book in Florence, and not to be procured elsewhere. The censor of the press at the present moment would not venture to suppress a line of the biography of the illustrious ancestor of the reigning Duke. I am confident the work would be read with avidity in Tuscany; it might be received into Piedmont, and introduced into Rome and Naples, not, I fear, with the permission of the authorities.

If the people in these countries are affected by Leopold's example, they will demand, in addition to cheap and wise government, the suppression of monasteries, the effectual expulsion of the Jesuits, with, perhaps, the circulation of the Scriptures. Everything done by so great a man, must make an impression on the public mind in Tuscany, the kingdom he redeemed and saved.

The second republication I would recommend would be the biography of the devout Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, to which I have before referred. The exposure of the vices and iniquities of the monastic system in Tuscany, made by this Roman Catholic Bishop, would be attended with far greater advantage than any publication which could be penned by a Protestant or a mere political writer. This bishop laboured in the service of his illustrious master, and the result of these pious labours might be now judiciously republished and circulated with the "Life of Leopold."

The censor, I conjecture, would not, at least in Florence, prohibit or curtail the biography of so good a man.

The third republication I would suggest would be that of the history of Savonarola, the martyr; or it might be well to draw up afresh a narrative of his life, with an account of his doctrines, some of which are the sound Catholic doctrines of the purest Christianity. I do sincerely believe three publications such as I have suggested, in the present temper of the public mind in Florence, would be calculated to produce beneficial results. They might induce those who read them to reflect, and when reason once asserts her power over the understanding, the empire of superstition is at an end.

One of the most remarkable facts connected with the Italian movement is, that the priests affect to approve and stimulate its progress; and I have little doubt many of the parish priests share the general enthusiasm, but I do not believe the regulars, the Jesuits, monks, nuns, and friars, archbishops and cardinals, in the mass, are really anxious that enlightened liberty and toleration should prevail through Tuscany, because well they

know they must prove fatal to their excessive authority, perhaps existence. They have, with consummate tact, affected to join the popular movement, lest they should be swept away by it; now they will strive to guide the democratic tendencies of the nation towards their own purposes, as the Jesuits did in Fribourg; but as the fact is undeniable that, while the ecclesiastics held the censorship of the Press in Florence, all liberty of discussion on political and religious subjects in which they were chiefly concerned, was stifled, we can scarcely give them credit now for sincerity in wishing for its boundless freedom. They do with a good grace what they cannot help.

Meanwhile it ought to be the great desire of the enlightened men who have secured the liberty of the Press in Florence, to use it, and not abuse it; to direct its amazing influence towards enlightening and exalting the Tuscan people, and freeing them, not only from the political thraldom which bound, but likewise from the religious prejudices which oppressed, them; and thus to qualify the descendants of the republican Florentines of old to become once more the intelligent, religious, and useful citizens of a free and busy state.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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